

Urban renewal and the ‘Just City’: Examining the potentiality of a co-operative Manchester city-region.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the management of urban renewal policy and practice during a five-year period (2010-2015) in the Manchester City- Region. It is set within a context of recession and a Conservative-led Coalition government. The study draws upon and adapts Susan Fainstein's concept and criteria of the 'Just City' (2010) and the specific focus of this work is to see if the city-region has the potential to be a just city. Qualitative data collection has mainly involved a series of semi-structured interviews, based on three core research questions, with key decision makers in various layers of the city-region from within the public, private and community/voluntary sectors.

Findings suggest that Salford and Manchester each have the potential to contribute to a just city. This is despite the challenges of recession, austerity urbanism and a continual focus upon economically-driven processes as a catalyst for change. Within these processes, the findings demonstrate that there are differing attitudes between, and within, the two places in terms of a shared understanding of leadership, cross-sector relationships and ways of working together. Significantly, having taken the idea of the just city concept and reworked this in a particular way via the case studies, what has emerged is the 'co-operative city'.

Set within a broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity, the claim to originality is done through interrogating and adapting Fainstein's notion of the 'just city', to position co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester City- Region. More specifically this work claims that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the 'just city' might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

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Glossary of Acronyms

AGMA – Association of Greater Manchester Authorities. Established in 1986 as a local government association which represented the ten district councils of Greater Manchester when the Greater Manchester County Council was abolished

CLS – Community Leisure Salford. Run for the people by the people CLS are community organisation run in conjunction with Salford Council that attempt to enhance the physical and cultural wellbeing of the community through the sport, library and cultural opportunities across 40 venues in Salford

CVP – Cheetham Village Partnership. A cross council (Salford and Manchester) initiative aimed at retailers on Cheetham Hill Road. This is a way of allowing businesses and the local authority to come together to share ideas on the economic prosperity of Cheetham.

GMCA – Greater Manchester Combined Authority. The GMCA is made up of the ten Greater Manchester councils and Mayor, who work with other local services, businesses, communities and other partners to improve the city-region. The ten councils are Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan.

GMSF – Greater Manchester Spatial Framework. This is the plan that Greater Manchester has set out to address homes, jobs and the environment. This has been agreed upon by the ten councils in Greater Manchester.

HBP – Higher Broughton Partnership. This organisation was established in 2004 and delivers regeneration initiatives in Higher Broughton, Salford. They aim to create community facilities for local residents along with a range of affordable family homes.

MCC – Manchester City Council. This is the local government authority for Manchester. The council is made up of ninety-six councilors and is Labour controlled. The leader is Sir Richard Leese and a new chief executive, Joanne Roney.

NMSFW – North Manchester Strategic Framework. Local policy delivering urban renewal initiatives in North Manchester. Published in 2003 the framework identified key opportunities and strengths in north Manchester and ways in which the area could be developed and

improved. The aim was to set out a 10-15-year plan that would create sustainable communities near to Manchester City Centre.

NWDA – North West Development Agency. This was a business led organisation and was the regional development agency for the North West of England. It was a non-departmental public body and was abolished in March 2012.

NWIEP – North West Improvement and Efficiency Partnership. This was a partnership assigned to helping local authorities and partner organisations improve objectives and efficiencies set out in the North West Improvement and Efficiency Partnership Strategy. It attempted to contribute to local and multi area agreements through commissioning support to improve local services for residents.

Salford CVS – Salford Community and Voluntary Sector. This is a city-wide infrastructure organisation providing support to the social enterprise, voluntary and community sector. They provide advice and support opportunities for influence and collaboration in communities.

SCC – Salford City Council. This is the local government authority for Salford and is part of the 10- local authorities that make up the Greater Manchester Combined Authority. Salford council has an elected Mayor, currently Paul Dennett and previously Ian Stewart. The council is Labour controlled and has a number of deputy mayors addressing various areas of governance.

TFGM – Transport for Greater Manchester. This is the public body responsible for coordinating transport services throughout Greater Manchester

VSNW – Voluntary Sector North West. Voluntary Sector North West is the regional voluntary sector network for the North West of England. They aim to support the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector, in all its diversity, to take its full part in shaping the future of the North West. VSNW works with over 140 members who work across the region directly supporting and delivering services for individuals.

Chapter 1

Rationale and Purpose of Study

“Housing crisis: 15,000 new Manchester homes and not a single one 'affordable'” (Pidd, 2018)

As a human geographer this researcher enjoys, and is interested in, making sense of urban environments and the political, social and economic processes that contribute to the continual regeneration and evolvement of communities. Having lived and worked in the communities researched in this thesis, this study provides an opportunity to take this interest further and examine social and economic relationships more closely. It is the working relationships (co-operative) within urban renewal in the Manchester city-region that are of importance to the work. Over the last twenty years living in Manchester the social, political and economic landscapes have changed dramatically, locally and nationally. This has perhaps not been more so than with the new devolution settlement agreed between London (Westminster) and the Greater Manchester Combined Authorities (GMCA) in November 2014. It is some of these changes in political and administrative structures and a belief in social justice that influenced the decision to carry out this study.

It has been historical and contemporary debate on urban landscapes and cities, along with this researcher's view of the world, which have helped drive interest and ideas forward in this research and subsequent thesis. This thesis critically analyses social/economic regeneration practices and working relationships in the Manchester city-region. The approach particularly focuses upon times of recession, austerity and unique forms of governance. This work examines how urban renewal can help achieve the creation of a just city or a fairer society through collaborative working whilst experiencing contests between economic growth and social justice agendas. Emerging from these challenges has been the emergent contribution of the co-operative city and making sense of this notion and unique way of working together, has allowed the research to develop and offer alternative criteria for achieving justice. The overall intention and incorporation of this within the study is to see if the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city.

With a personal ontology based upon social justice, this research used Susan Fainstein's (Just City, 2010) criterion of diversity, equity and democracy, her criteria for a just city in urban renewal processes, to help as an initial investigative starting point. Examining Fainstein's work has been a way in to examine and think about social justice in cities differently. It is important to note here that this work moved away from Fainstein's suggestions, as a different way of thinking about the just city became the focus of this work – this was to be the evidence found relating to the co-operative city and collaborative working approaches.

The idea of the just city presented by Fainstein has been reworked and developed in a particular way and what has emerged is the notion of the co-operative city. The focus therefore has been to examine notions of the just city through Fainstein's criterion and the evidence, mainly relating to co-operation. This is important to the work as co-operative working is a unique form of working that contributes to the just city. The thread, therefore, for the thesis that is put forward here is about seeing if the just city can be examined, framed, made sense of and achieved through the idea of the co-operative city. This is because many of the findings pointed towards the fact that the two research sites in Salford and Manchester were either working towards being a co-operative city or had the potential to be a co-operative city. The primary focus for this work concentrates on the relevance of the co-operative city to the just city and will be offered up as the main theoretical contribution to knowledge throughout and at the end of the thesis.

The devolved Manchester city-region, undergoing shifts in political authority, provided an interesting spatial setting to examine these notions of the just and co-operative city. The Manchester city-region provides a way to look at the re-allocation of power within cities through devolution agendas. This work examines the concept of the just city and determines whether conceptual notions of justice can be applied within cities, such as the Manchester city-region, that have different scales and structures. Considering the notion of the co-operative city helps to do this and adds to the contribution to knowledge by providing a visionary match and accommodation between the just and co-operative city. The thesis will also consider whether it is possible to attribute and identify different justice criteria, including that of co-operative working, particularly in times of recession and austerity. Discussion of this will include what different justice criteria would be better used in more stable economic conditions and how current economic instability has produced some interesting phenomenon relating to co-operative working that ordinarily would not have happened or been observed.

As briefly alluded, an examination of the city-region and devolution concepts also stands out as a current point of interest because the city-region seems, in the context of new local structures in the political administration of the economy, to be a key unit of spatiality. This is particularly the case with the Manchester agreement and the devolved powers and own budget spend announced in November 2014. The temporal setting for this research (2010 – 2015) encompasses a unique type of governance in the form of the Conservative-led Coalition government and provides an interesting context for the research.

The examination of these forms of governance focusses on where, when and how the social and economic decisions are made by these associated political and administrative bodies. Whilst we may not feel the full effects of this government for some time this thesis will have been written in real time and the submission of this PhD comes soon after the full 5-year term has been served by the Conservative-led Coalition government. The consideration of this unique type of central government political structure and the devolution package being rolled out in Manchester provides a further empirical contribution to the expansive debate around social justice. It is the focus on the devolvement of the city-region that will also provide some speculations towards the end of the thesis. These speculations discuss the implications of these changes upon urban renewal processes and management of those processes for managers and leaders in the future.

This research attempts to place a further emphasis within the social justice debate on bringing people back into an equation that has appeared historically to have been dominated by the physicality and economic benefits of regeneration. Therefore, the study attempts to look at the contests and challenges in balancing investment in social and economic growth strategies that would enhance social justice. In attempting to examine whether the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city through evidencing the co-operative city and provide an original contribution to knowledge, two research sites, Cheetham and Broughton were chosen. There have been various choices that have been made regarding the spatial location for the study, these are detailed in more depth in chapter three. The two areas are places of interest where this researcher has lived and worked, and they are places that have been focused upon previously through urban renewal processes and local policy initiatives.

Among the main reasons for choosing Cheetham (Manchester) and Broughton (Salford) is the fact that two different local authorities control these two neighbouring wards administratively

and politically. They do however, also have a cross-border political constituency with one another. It is interesting to see how these two administrative and political bodies work together when needed. These locations have provided a platform from which it has been possible to examine different relationships, management and processes in two wards in the city region. These choices were designed to uncover what justice criteria for the Manchester city-region may look like in areas of need. The other main reason was to find two wards that provided enough empirical evidence of co-operative working to examine the notion of the just city more closely in a different context. These locations provide this.

In terms of conducting the research, this work examines regeneration practice in these two local wards of Cheetham and Broughton within the Manchester city-region. To do this the main focus of data collection has been through a series of interviews with a range of stakeholders. This included elite decision makers which were made up of private and public sector organisations (including local government), partnerships, community and voluntary groups and charitable organisations. This approach was designed to investigate relationships and urban renewal processes within different communities. Cheetham and Broughton are two of the most distressed and demographically different areas in the city region of Manchester, but they have raised some examples of successful collaborative and co-operative working in both wards. The thesis did not set out to examine co-operative working but this dynamic was evident in the initial stages of the fieldwork and was thus pursued further. This contribution establishes theoretical links between the just city and the co-operative city mainly through evidencing collaborative working practices found in the two wards.

These two locations have recently experienced a mix of private and public investment led regeneration initiatives, which have been governed, as mentioned above, by two different local authorities. These two locations in Greater Manchester provide an opportunity to investigate justice criteria contextualised in a city that is globally connected that has differing scales and structures to the global cities of New York, Amsterdam and London as investigated by Fainstein. The core research questions that will be used as a framework for the fieldwork data collection to investigate all of this will be presented at the end of chapter two (Conceptual Proposition).

The qualitative data obtained has been extracted from these two predetermined communities of interest. These communities of interest provide primary and secondary data through an

examination of social practices (non-governmental organisations, community groups/activists, council organisations, public investors, not-for-profit and voluntary organisations) and entrepreneurial activity (planners, developers, investors and private businesses). The decision to target key representative informants in lead agencies and within the local communities has been shaped, to some extent, by the criteria set out by Fainstein. Fainstein (2010) attributes the analysis of implemented policy and resultant outcomes as the best way to examine if the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city. To do this the researcher interviewed several decision-making elites to gain perspectives and thoughts from individuals and representatives of groups operating at various layers of the city-region. From these interviews it was clear that there were shared and different attitudes towards leadership and management, cross-sector relationships and co-operative working.

The approach to collecting data also provides some methodological contribution to knowledge for discussion later in chapters five and six. This methodological contribution is important because the thoughts of the political and organisation elites involved in this study assist in being able to understand urban renewal processes and current changes in political authority in Greater Manchester through the devolution agenda and through different perspectives. They also provide an opportunity to evidence and examine ways of collaborative working that lend themselves to thinking about the city-region as a just city through the representative organisational and practical workings of a co-operative city. This emergent theme of collaboration and co-operative working, along with the researcher's other criteria for what a just city may look like, will be examined in chapters five (synthesis) and chapter six (conclusions/contributions) and presented as a theoretical contribution to knowledge.

In attempting to consider notions of fairness and justice that underpin this work, research carried out by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2011) discusses that in Britain approximately one third of people are unable to partake in what may be called 'mainstream society' due to affordability issues. This thesis considers poverty as the main perspective taken when interpreting social justice and trying to apply the concept to the work. This affordability is discussed in terms of being able to be involved in cultural activities such as buying consumer goods or going on holiday for example. The report also goes on to state that participation levels are low in the poorest third of people in society as they have less trust in people and have fewer relationships (social). "Participating is about belonging. Many of society's expectations require individuals and families to spend money," the report, *Poverty, Participation and Choice*

(2011:2) states. “Like it or not, Britain is a consumer society in which people are assessed according to the income that they have, how they spend it and what they do with their time”. In the report, the authors define participation as “social relationships, membership of organisations, trust in other people and purchase of services”. It is this participation, leading to mutual collaboration and co-operation, which eventually emerges from this work as one of the researcher’s key components for a just city. The idea of justice and fairness in this work relates to the basic principle of poverty. Social justice in this instance is considered in terms of welfare and considers equitable access and opportunity for residents in terms of housing, health, education and employment for example.

Peter Townsend (1965) argued that poverty is relative, meaning that people are prevented from being able to be full members of society because of it. As may be expected and considering the JRF report above, the report indicates that as income falls in a household or with an individual so does their level of societal participation. The JRF also indicate that in terms of being full members of society there is a point at which people are cut off as they state that for the lower third of people with the lowest household income if they have an additional income it makes no real difference to them.

It is this proportion of society that the research is interested in through the notion of equity and democracy, as well as diversity, as elements worth examining. These notions are examined in terms of providing a fairer society in which to live. This is a society where we have people who are unable to reach and enjoy mainstream society and access goods and services that should be available for all. The JRF report recognizes this need as they state, “the 30 per cent of people with the lowest incomes are forced to choose between the necessities of modern life; they must decide which needs to neglect.” The research conducted by the JRF included a survey of 40,000 households, representing 100,000 people from different sections of society in Britain.

Finally, there have been numerous choices made throughout the project in terms of design and management and an overview of the structure of this work and subsequent chapters is detailed below. This overview provides a brief look at what the remaining chapters examine and how they bind together to form a coherent thesis.

Chapter two, ‘Social Justice and Urban Renewal: Theoretical Perspectives’ takes an exploratory and investigative look at the theories and concepts surrounding the development

of the project and the subsequent core research questions. This conceptual proposition sets the foundation for thinking about ways in which sense can be made of the just city concept. Whilst Fainstein's criteria (diversity, democracy and equity) are examined here, the thoughts of others are considered regarding these but also towards notions of democratic processes, social and political change, devolution, power and politics, cooperative and collaborative working. This allows a conceptualisation of the city region of Manchester as a just and cooperative city. The theoretical perspectives will also be intertwined with examination of contemporary applications of urban policy under recent governments in regeneration practice to provide a historical context.

The review of literature in chapter two uses Susan Fainstein's criteria for her just city concept to initially frame the discussion and use it as a way in to the subsequent research. The chapter will also explain how the notions have been applied to the research framework of this study via the six chapters. This conceptual chapter guides the reader to the research proposition and the chapter will conclude with a set of research questions that emanated from the proposition. The literature attempts to move from an abstract concept to a place where empirical evidence has been gathered – the cases in chapter four.

The implications, importance and nature of the city-region as an administrative centre and economic driving force are also discussed, as this adds to the contribution to knowledge regarding changes in political governance. These changes in governance are examined through the devolution agenda for Greater Manchester. This chapter (two), also focusses on urban renewal policy and also explains why the just city concept is relevant and how some of the methodological choices faced for this project were made. Although this chapter focuses mainly on the historic content, its relevance and value to the work is explained through the concluding section of the chapter. This will bring into play discussion on the devolution agreement between Westminster and the Greater Manchester Combined Authority and the concept of the city-region. The way in which the Greater Manchester Combined Authorities have worked collaboratively, and in some instances co-operatively, is examined further in this chapter.

Chapter three titled, 'Researching justice and urban renewal' details the methodological understanding and it draws out why methodological reasoning supports the methods used in the research. It also considers the implications of a shift between the concrete and abstract research in this thesis. The chapter attempts to provide explanation as to the theoretical, pre-

investigative and fieldwork challenges/choices faced throughout the duration of the project along with important axiological and ethical considerations. The methods were designed to extract data from the sites and participants to see if Manchester has the potential to be a just city.

‘Case 1 and Case 2’ - the research sites of Cheetham and Broughton (chapter four) provides evidence of the empirical work undertaken. The chapter attempts to incorporate a more localised review to help explain the rationale for the choices of these research locations in the north of the city. It also provides an indication of the reasons for some choices involving the scale of investigation from the local to city region level. These two distressed areas have been subject to recent regeneration programmes implemented by strategic partnerships, joint council initiatives and community groups. Within the two areas, there will also be a micro investigation of Cheetham in the ward of Cheetham. The communities of interest within these wards are represented by the public, private and third sectors and the impact of recession and austerity are of fundamental importance to the work. Each of the cases will contain the findings from fieldwork research that should help provide the empirical depth required for the thesis. The aim of the cases is to gather and provide enough data from the respondents to achieve this and the chapters are presented via a narrative that highlights the emergent themes.

The synthesis, which is chapter five, attempts to critically analyse the evidence gathered in this thesis and the concepts from the literature review along with explicitly addressing the core research questions. The emergent themes addressed here are collaborative, co-operative and cross sector relationships, the impacts of recession and austerity, shared and different understanding and approaches to management and leadership. The analysis of these themes helps to make sense of the just city through the co-operative city and points to the fact that both cities have the potential to be co-operative.

The thesis will then attempt to bring all of this together in presenting the contributions made through the conclusions (chapter six). Chapter six will therefore provide discussion that forms the original contributions to knowledge required for this work. Set within a broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity the claim to originality in this work is done through interrogating and adapting Fainstein’s notion of the ‘just city’, to position co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice

might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester City Region. More specifically this work claims that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the ‘just city’ might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

Before moving on to chapter two, it is important to note that each chapter has its own importance in underpinning the study. To conduct this study, the research set out to examine the challenges and difficulties in cross-sector working and the relationships, processes and resultant outcomes of urban renewal initiatives in Greater Manchester. The findings and analysis within this research project attempts to unpack, and make sense of, the evidence in examining how just the city-region of Greater Manchester could be and how this could be achieved.

CHAPTER 2

Social Justice and Urban Renewal: Theoretical Perspectives

2.1 Introduction

This study is fundamentally concerned with the issue of social justice through urban renewal and regeneration strategies within the context of the city. The chapter aims to address issues of power and politics and provides subsequent critical examinations of some key themes and issues related to social justice and urban renewal relevant to this study. This will include examining and theorising justice in complex urban settings, social and political change (in the context of power, politics and consensus), economic and social diversity, democracy and democratic processes. This will be done by providing some context in terms of devolution, historical approaches to policy and the city region status so that some resulting core research questions can be presented at the end of this chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to review literature relating to social justice, the just city and urban renewal to better reflect a deeper synthesis and discussion of the theoretical foundations and original contribution of the thesis. This contribution is to see if the Manchester city region has the potential to be a just city and how co-operative working can be considered as a fourth criteria to those provided by Fainstein to better promote and realise social justice in the city.

In attempting to unpick and consider some of the theoretical perspectives pertaining to social justice and urban renewal the study will, for example, incorporate an examination of the work on participatory and deliberative democracy by Jurgen Habermas (1962,1992) and a review of Sherry Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation' which will both assist in unpacking notions of democracy. Work by Nancy Fraser (2003) will be referenced to discuss diversity, which will include ideas on recognising and distributing difference. The concept of equity will be exemplified by the theories of John Rawls for example as his approach seems to have been influential to this review because Fainstein regards him as "able to justify equality without resorting to natural law, theology, altruism, or a diagnosis of human nature" (Fainstein, 2010:15). In addition, the contribution of some contemporary theorists of justice such as David Harvey (1973, 1989, 2012), Manuel Castells (1983, 2000), Amartya Sen (2010), Martha

Nussbaum (2010), and Iris Marion Young (1990) will be examined in this chapter to provide some depth and meaning to the critical examination of some of the themes and issues related to social justice and urban renewal¹.

The conceptual proposition has assisted in providing the research framework, thread, scale of investigation, formulating the core research questions, and has helped with the methodological choices for this research idea. The project has been influenced and approached initially by using Susan Fainstein's criteria within her Just City (2010) model based on a study of global cities. Whilst reference to Fainstein is made throughout this chapter, it should be clearly understood that Fainstein's work has been a platform or a way in to investigating justice and fairness in the provision and redistribution of services and goods in cities and her theory has been adapted and reworked. The idea of this thesis is not to solely find evidence of her criteria but to move away from her research to find this researcher's own criteria for a just city. Fainstein has however provided an interesting starting point for this work, but it must be made clear that this thesis is not a critique of Fainstein's research on the just city

This work, therefore, hopes to contribute to discussion and debate regarding forming a more equitable and improved quality of life in urban environments. This is considered against a backdrop of a capitalist society, political uncertainty and continual social and economic change. It is important to note that Fainstein's model (being used as an exploratory tool) concentrates upon global cities but it is the aim of this researcher to examine if the just city model can be applied to cities of differing scales and structures. To do this the city-region of Greater Manchester provides two local research sites – both low income, culturally different and distressed neighbourhoods governed by two different councils. This provides spatial platform from which to investigate social justice and to see if the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city.

¹ It should be noted here that the theoretical sources used that contribute to this work are only dated up to 2013. This is not because literature post 2013 is of no relevance to the theoretical framework and understanding of urban regeneration. The reason for this choice was that due to the temporal nature of this work (set between 2010 and 2015) it was necessary to draw a line under where the reading and theoretical contribution should end in order to be able to consolidate the research, relevant chapters and to be able to write the thesis in the designated time.

The question of whether to focus on the city or metropolitan area needs justification. Manuel Castells (1977) asserts that cities are not the sources of production, it is a regional function. If this is the case, and if production is key to the formation of economic interests, is there any point to restricting analysis to cities or even metro areas? Peterson (1981) contends that while city administrations could foster economic growth, they could not engage in redistribution without stimulating capital flight and thus unemployment and a decreasing tax base. The temporal setting for this research (2010–2015) however also encompasses a type of governance in the UK, not seen since the 1940s, in the form of a Coalition government up to 2015. This coupled with the social, political and economic changes that Greater Manchester is experiencing through devolution justify the choice of this study. The work will also safeguard social justice, in the context of the city. It is part of the aim to ascertain how these unique forms of political control and policymaking have affected urban environments.

2.2 Theorising justice and the ‘just city’ in complex urban settings.

Within the idea of the just city Fainstein hopes “to encourage planners and policy makers to embrace a normative approach to urban planning and urban theory and the chapter evaluates the combination of progressive planners' traditional focus on equity and material well-being with more recent concerns such as diversity, participation and sustainability” (Fainstein,2010:4). She examines how a concentration on diversity, democracy and equity can help achieve this goal within regeneration practice. These are her three criteria for attempting to create a just city within urban renewal processes. The review will attempt to make clear how these criteria have provided a thematic, geographic and research framework for this study and why they are relevant to the investigative research questions posed. The extent to which this research was going to use Susan Fainstein’s notions of the just city as a central spine throughout the research changed during the research process.

Whilst still important to the work, the researcher thought about the direction in which Fainstein’s criteria was steering the work and soon realised that this research needed to reposition the approach and way in which these criteria were being used. The conceptual proposition does however deem her criteria as a reasonable starting point to investigate social justice in cities and that these criteria would allow for a transparent process of further analysis.

Care has been taken though to safeguard social justice within the context of the city. The fundamental purpose and objective for this review is to provide evidence to show that some of the just city elements fit together with the notion of the co-operative city. It is also important for providing a contribution to knowledge. This is in terms of how this work positions co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester city region. It therefore considers co-operative working as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

Thinking historically, to add context to this chapter, about the city and policies aimed at social justice, the period of the 1960s and 70s saw a movement away from physical approaches to addressing poverty. During the period, there were some major steps taken towards urban renewal in the form of the Urban Programme and the Inner Area Studies being two policies that emerged along with the introduction of the CDPs (Community Development Projects). These CDPs were introduced in the late 1960s by James Callaghan, the Home Secretary, as a way of addressing the rediscovery of poverty. According to Cook and McKie (1972) “the passage of the Local Government Grants (Social Need) Act empowered the then Home Secretary to dispense grants to assist local authorities in providing extra help to areas of special social need”.

During the early 1970s, according to Loney (1983:3), the “Community Development Projects were the largest action-research project ever funded by government. The intention was to gather information about the impact of existing social policies and services and to encourage innovation and co-ordination. The projects had a strong and explicit research focus and an emphasis on social action as a means of creating more responsive local services and of encouraging self-help”. The examination of this social action is evident in core research question two that investigates the people involved in the relationships and processes of urban renewal. The investigation will discuss how this idea of ‘self-help’ emerges today through the Big Society agenda. The remit was that they could produce material and information regarding the economic, social and political environments in specific locations.

In her book, Fainstein examines movements such as these that move away from a focus on physical regeneration. What she proposes is developing an urban theory of justice and to use it to evaluate existing and potential institutions and programs. Fainstein wants urban renewal practices to attempt to introduce “justice as the first evaluative criterion used in policy making” (Fainstein, 2010:7). Fainstein is interested in the contested and sometimes

contradicting relationship between “democratic processes and just outcomes” (Fainstein, 2010: 24). She writes that “just outcomes could perhaps include both, but are by no means limited to, equity and diversity, as well as improving the integrity of democratic practices” (Fainstein, 2010:15). This relationship has helped form some of the testable core research questions for this project.

During the Conservative government, that followed in 1979 and led by Margaret Thatcher, there was a period of policies geared towards growing capitalism as the Conservative government encouraged an entrepreneurial ethos and focus on the role of the private sector in contributing to urban policy. This consisted of processes led by centralisation, neo-liberalism, privatisation and public -private partnerships, much of what had had an extensive impact over the time and can be observed nearly 40 years later. These political conditions it could be argued are not conducive to achieving justice particularly when thinking about it in terms of equity. It should be noted this was a period of notable societal change with the consensus period being readdressed by the politics of the New Right agenda and *laisse faire*/neo liberal economics.

Fainstein appears to want a democratic model of justice in cities. She seems unhappy that Marxist theorists like David Harvey seem too often to use an all-or-nothing position and that anything short of a transformation in systems merely holds together existing structures of injustice. Fainstein instead appears to agree with Erik Olin Wright. Wright (2006:19) for example who argues that “alternative institutional designs can become part of pragmatic projects of social reform within capitalist society. There are many possible capitalisms with many ways of interjecting non-capitalist principles within social and economic institutions”. This is the point of this work and is key and valuable to this research as the project seeks to establish a different approach and perhaps a less revolutionary arrangement than those put forward by David Harvey for example. This is where the concept of co-operative working will be important for this work as it develops.

At the same time, as it is about the interpretation and use of the term justice, this work is concerned that there are many more debates surrounding social justice in general as Fainstein argues that progressive planning in particular “seems too often to offer only a single remedy to all that ails the city” (Fainstein, 2010:20). Fainstein (2010:4) calls for “a more open, more democratic process” which she debates is sometimes “insufficient as it overly idealises open communication and neglects the substance of debate” (2010:23). This remedy in her opinion “fails to confront adequately the initial discrepancy of power, offers few clues to overcoming

resistance to reform, does not sufficiently address some of the major weaknesses of democratic theory, and diverts discussion from the substance of policy which may or may not aim to increase equity, diversity, and democracy” (Fainstein,2010:24

After an initial critique of a range of theoretical positions in her book, Fainstein argues that within a context of planning in urban environments the “most fruitful approach to justice is the capabilities approach associated with Sen and Nussbaum” (2010:54). According to Fainstein such an approach would incorporate whether evaluations regarding specific policies or implementation “would be based on whether their gestation was in accord with democratic norms although not necessarily guided by the structures of deliberative or deep democracy. It would also be based on whether their distributional outcomes enhanced the capabilities of the relatively disadvantaged, and whether groups defined relationally achieved recognition from each other” (2010: 55).

This work wants to move the focus to the characteristics of urban areas with less focus on the idea of process in planning theory. It also wants to attempt to refocus urban planning practitioners away from historical worries with the development of economies to more of a concern with equity in society and perhaps trying to force urban decision makers to make justice a primary consideration and a primary evaluative criterion in growth promoting policies. This researcher hopes to add to this growing debate with this piece of work by presenting some alternatives that may work alongside/within/instead of the economic-driven development that is the focus of those growth promoting policies in the Manchester city region.

If this work considers Fainstein’s idea about concentrating on the characteristics of areas the most recent IMD (Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2015) ranks Manchester as England’s fifth most deprived local authority (rank of average scores). Although it is apparently not possible to use the indices to measure changes in the level of deprivation in places over time, it is possible to explore changes in relative deprivation, or changes in the pattern of deprivation, between this and previous updates of the indices. Using this method indicates that Manchester has improved relatively from fourth most deprived local authority (rank of average scores) in the IMD in 2010 to fifth in the IMD in 2015. Manchester has however been ranked as first in the rank of the proportion of LSOAs (Lower Super Output Areas) that are in the most deprived 10% nationally in the Health Deprivation and Disability domain. The current ranking of the two wards (Cheetham and Broughton) concerned in this research will be discussed further in chapter four.

To be sure, cities cannot be viewed in isolation; they are within networks of governmental institutions and capital flows. Robert Dahl (1967), referred to the ‘Chinese Box’ problem of participation and power: at the level of the neighborhood, there is the greatest opportunity for democracy but the least amount of power; as we scale up the amount of decision-making power increases, but the potential of people to affect outcomes diminishes. This adds to the complexity of theorising social justice within urban renewal environments. The city level therefore could be just one layer in the hierarchy of governance. But the variation that exists among cities within the same country in relation to values like tolerance, quality of public services, availability of affordable housing, segregation/integration, points to a degree of autonomy.

It is the view of this researcher that justice is not achievable at the urban level without support from other levels. However, discussion of urban programs requires a concept of justice relevant to what is within city government’s power and in terms of the goals of urban movements. Castells (1983), argues that while minimising cities’ role in production, he also regards them as the locus of collective consumption—i.e. the place in which citizens can acquire collective goods that make up for deficiencies in the returns for their labour. Consequently, he contends that urban social movements can potentially produce a municipal revolution even though he does not believe that they can create social transformation. According to this logic, then, urban movements do have transformative potential despite being limited to achieving change only at the level in which they are operating.

2.3 Social and political change – power, politics and consensus

Economic decline in cities in recent decades has been matched by an increase in social deprivation in urban environments. Tim Hall (2006: 179) suggests that this is due to “social polarisation and social exclusion and the impacts of the global economy on cities and the impacts of cities on the global economy”. According to Pacione (1997) numerous processes appear to have contributed to this vast difference, increase in the number of deprived areas and to some extent the witnessing of the exclusion of some economic and cultural groups which in turn have raised questions and debate regarding justice and a fairer society.

This apparent hollowing out of the industrial city, in this case the Manchester city-region, has resulted in a depletion of services, job movement and redundancy and contributed to greater

social and economic inequity in many parts of the city. It should be noted however this creation of inequity was perhaps not to the same extent as within some American cities that Fainstein draws upon, for example, the decline of Detroit in recent decades. In any respect, there have been vast changes socially and politically in the UK over recent years.

These processes and structural changes have traditionally, according to Pacione (1997), been related to issues such as gender, sexuality, age, employment, ethnicity, social wellbeing and employment. Manuel Castells contributes to this debate by stating that “economic exclusion is traditionally related to concepts such as poverty, underclass and a lack of economic resources which is normally secured through decent employment” (2000:281). In attempting to redress any socio-economic imbalances in the search for a just city, the debate would appear to relate initially to the issue of have and have nots in cities and where power lies. As such the notion of a just city is politically value laden and recognition and debate on the pros and cons need to be considered.

Fainstein agrees that de-industrialisation and globalisation have dramatically changed the fortunes of cities. She states that the mechanisms for growth-promoting policies have also changed within them and it is her wish to put greater importance upon social practices within city environments. These mechanisms and evidenced social practice founded in her framework of equity, democracy and diversity are not new debates though and will be found in some of the findings in chapter four. Nevertheless, in the just city it could be argued that she goes one step further by placing people back in the discussion about cities as she feels cities have become too dominated by economic growth and the politics of planning. Issues of power, people and profit stand out in the debate here, and this researcher’s work challenges the normality of commercial/property-led processes and frameworks for stimulating growth in urban environments. It is these growth environments that are capitalist driven and change within such an economic and political ideology is difficult to achieve.

In terms of policy and ideologies underpinning urban renewal, some of these dates to urban renewal in the 1980s when examining social and political change. The 1980s witnessed profound social change which included the collapse of the manufacturing industry which impacted on particular areas and communities, two of which are Manchester and Salford. There was a simultaneous development of the service sector and the development of white-collar jobs during a period of popular capitalism and drive for home ownership. The period witnessed increasing social polarisation and spatial social exclusion. Communities in the UK were faced

with social exclusion whilst large proportions of the population were engaged in private consumption and popular capitalism.

The governments focus and approach at the time was built “on the belief that competitive market economies could deliver equitable and efficient solutions to urban problems” (Nevin et al 1997). During this period UDC’s (Urban Development Corporations) and Enterprise Zones were used as part of urban renewal policy. The government focused on a top-down approach and a focus on commercial and property-led urban renewal practices, exemplified by flagship projects such as Canary Wharf at the time. These were initiatives that represented economic power. There were also significant changes in society under Margaret Thatcher’s leadership at that time, epitomised by the ongoing power struggle with the trade unions. In the breaking of the miner’s strike in 1985, and with political opposition effectively being over by 1987 as the Tories won a third term of government, the UK had undergone a major change politically and within the power relations in society.

Oatley (1995:262-265) provides a summary of some of the problems with policy around urban renewal during the period of the 1980s which is “1- The definition of the urban problem and the scale of the response 2 – The fragmentation of policy and the lack of co-ordination 3 – The lack of a long term strategic approach 4 – The over-reliance on property led regeneration 5 – Problems of governance, managerialism and bureaucracy”. Throughout this period the policies that epitomised the post-war period (up to 1979) were now very different. The difference was now that attention had drifted away from projects related to social welfare to more of a focus upon property-led and private sector focus programmes of regeneration, something which we are again witnessing today under another Conservative-led government.

Labour’s response (not Tony Blair and New Labour) under John Smith was a desire to tackle issues of deprivation without alienating different sections of society. In 1994 the Commission for Social Justice produced the Borrie Report in which welfare was to be regarded as a ‘hand up’ and not a ‘hand out’ and that welfare was not just about compensating for structural inequalities but was about helping people operate more effectively in the labour market. Community and neighbourhood were introduced as part of a redefinition of welfare that highlighted personal and non-state forms of collective responsibility.

Under New Labour the delivery mechanism for change was power and governance through neighbourhood and community and Labour’s urban policy was built around discourses of citizenship, stakeholder, social inclusion and social capital under the ideology of the Third Way

which was supposed to be a new form of social democracy. New Labour claimed to be socially democratic but they emphasised the need to accommodate neo-liberalism hence the approach to urban policy that combined economic competitiveness with social inclusion. They inherited the ‘challenge model’/competition/ value for money of New Localism and continued with it but they also aimed to create cohesive and holistic policies and emphasised modern governance by devolving power from the top to a local level where local government would ‘enable’ local communities. Community was ultimately seen as key to this and the prism through which things are seen and regeneration policy would be delivered. Tony Blair (2002) stated that “just as mass production has departed from industry, so the monolithic provision of services has to depart from the public sector. Out goes the big state. In comes the enabling state”. Adding to this Gordon Brown stated:

“A new localism where there is flexibility and resources in return for reform and delivery a new era – an age of active citizenship and an enabling state is within our grasp. And at its core is a renewal of civic society where the rights to decent services and the responsibilities of citizenship go together” (Gordon Brown, 2002)

Cited in Imrie, R and Raco, M (2003:243)- Towards and Urban Renaissance

There are certain criticisms that can be levelled at New Labour’s approach to urban renewal. They were continuing the previous Conservative government’s neo-liberal approach and focus on particular communities was too selective and piecemeal.

More recently, the 2010 – 2015 period under the Coalition government witnessed, and made significant, further local neighbourhood renewal strategies which included Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). In the coalition agreement, the government committed to establishing Local Enterprise Partnerships to replace the Regional Development Agencies. In June 2010, they invited businesses and councils to come together to form local enterprise partnerships. However, in 2011 the Regional Development Agencies and REIPs suffered spending cuts. For example, the North-West Development Agency (NWDA) ceased existence in 2011 and The North-West Improvement & Efficiency Partnership (NWIEP) underwent the same fate in March 2012 thus giving rise to the city-region. In the same year the Localism Act was approved and was aimed at devolving more decision-making powers from central government back into the hands of individuals, communities and councils – the Big Society agenda. The Localism

Act covers a wide range of issues related to local public services, with a particularly focus on the general power of competence, community rights, neighbourhood planning and housing.

Both parties in the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government came to power in 2010 with a decentralised, localised policy agenda in planning. In power, the localised agenda has been implemented in part through the establishment of procedures for neighbourhood planning. However, the benefits of neighbourhood planning looked limited. Moreover, the main policy priority has been to promote growth and development. That priority has led, in turn, to repeated conflict with the traditional establishment keen on conservation, with local authorities and their national organisations eager to maintain environmental and amenity standards and finally, with the supporters of urban regeneration, concerned with the future of areas in decline. Taken together, the range of opposition expresses widespread unease about the implications for social justice and the quality of life.

The standard model of policy change is of a government coming to power, passing a law and then organising a programme of implementation that brings a variety of different actors into line with the policy aims. As is consistent with this standard model, governments are typically judged against their manifesto commitments. For the present Conservative Coalition government, an evaluation of the record since election in 2010 would, therefore, be based on key policy documents prepared in opposition, notably in a series of green papers in which commitments were made to promote neighbourhood planning and to abolish the Regional Development Agencies, their associated Regional Spatial Strategies and a national Infrastructure Planning Commission (Conservative Party, 2009; 2010).

After the 2010 election, the Conservatives had to negotiate with the Liberal Democrat Party. However, the Liberal Democrat Manifesto 2010 said little about town planning or urban regeneration and it also endorsed the principle of handing power to local communities. As stated, the agreed Coalition programme focused on the abolition of the Regional Development Agencies and the National Infrastructure Commission. Yet neither the manifesto commitments nor the agreed Coalition document provides a fully adequate basis for interpreting Coalition policy. The Coalition government came to power at a time of economic crisis and faced a major public sector budget shortfall, the full implications of which no party had previously wished to publicise to the electorate. The shortfall, in turn, has posed a dilemma between austerity and the promotion of growth.

The combination of manifesto commitments, a bleak economic context and conflicting interpretations provided some challenges in the provision of a consistent and coherent policy. The Coalition government has instead sought to weave together varied and sometimes contradictory policy aims and themes and has, on occasion, produced policy statements that, in the words of the government's critics, look thin, lack narrative and lack clarity (House of Commons, 2011: 7-8). Fundamentally the Coalition government has sought to combine austerity with economic growth and, in addition, partial deregulation with neighbourhood planning.

Hall (1998) argued that city planning professions were born of a belief in the good city. This notion originated in nineteenth century radicalism and utopianism and according to Hall (1998) it was a response to the negative effects of the industrial city. Hall argues that planning in cities was aimed at creating a city where the structures in society (industrial capitalism) would be beaten by a restructuring associated with people and place even while it continued to thrive economically. Of other philosophers, Healy (2006) appears to argue that Jürgen Habermas seems to have had a considerable influence on the discipline of planning and the imposition of reason as a deciding factor in regeneration. Habermas' concepts of deliberative democracy for example appears to have also had an influence on the theoretical side of planning. Fainstein concludes her discussion on philosophies of justice by laying out a general rule for choosing between policy alternatives. Of that she argues that "We should opt for that alternative that improves the lot of the relatively disadvantaged or minimally does not harm them" (2010:56). It is important to note at this stage however that whilst the terms 'planner' or 'planning' are used to a large degree, this research is conscious of using this term and an effort has been made to place this work in the field of urban theory or sociology.

Considering social justice, urban renewal and change, John Rawls (1971:242-248)) asserts that neither a socialist command economy nor capitalist laissez-faire one can achieve justice. Attaining such a position though would require society to feel an injustice and threat to provoke a response on a scale large enough to succeed in altering power dimensions. This mobilisation would also however need approval and acceptance from all social strata to minimize resistance and provide support. By continuing debate and adding to dialogue about social justice however, the process of naming (social justice) can have some influence because if society reiterates the need for a just city it may be possible to influence discussion and the action taken.

2.4 Economic and Social Diversity.

According to Fainstein (2010), diversity can refer to the way in which difference is accepted in the city and the way in which it promotes neighbourhoods of an economically and culturally diverse nature. David Harvey (2004:184) provides some substance to the term by claiming that “place is a unique conjunction of built environments cultures and people” and adding to this definition Fainstein sees diversity as “social differentiation based on multiple foundations, including race, ethnicity, gender, religion and culture” (Fainstein, 2010:42). These two descriptions, as will be discussed later, are the epitome of one of the research sites – Cheetham Hill. This study examines two different wards and looks at the extent and diverse nature of their economic and social assets to see if they contribute to a more just city.

Firstly, there needs to be some consideration towards diversity in the city. Nancy Fraser (2003) argues that the redistribution and recognition of difference are two separate entities but that both are necessary components of a just society. On this point, Fraser (2003) argues not just about difference but that the concept of justice, which is complex, is looked at from different but interconnected viewpoints. Fraser’s debate is important to this thesis as it brings together some fundamental ideas on diversity and difference that are important to the project as the criteria can be used to examine social and economic phenomenon. These ideas, she claims, are resource distribution, recognising the different contributions of groups and the level of their representation. Fraser (2003) also appears to believe that Marxists should readdress their focus towards ensuring that groups in society can make definitive contributions as opposed to supporting a blanket approach to redistribution.

According to Fraser, the terms ‘recognition’ and ‘redistribution’ have both political and philosophical considerations. Philosophically, Fraser describes that the “terms refer to normative paradigms developed by political theorists and moral philosophers” (Fraser 2003:7). In the 1960s and 1970s theories on these concepts were extended by philosophical contributions of the likes of John Rawls (1971) and Ronald Dworkin (1981) who sought to deliver complex theories of justice in a distributive context. According to Fraser they were “seeking to synthesize the traditional liberal emphasis on individual liberty with the egalitarianism of social democracy, they propounded new conceptions of justice that could justify socio-economic redistribution” (2003:6).

It is also argued by Fraser that “recognition designates an ideal reciprocal relation between subjects in whom each sees the other as its equal and separate from it. This relation is deemed constitutive for subjectivity: one becomes an individual subject only in virtue of recognising and being recognised by, another subject” (Fraser, 2003:7). The idea of recognition according to Fraser is seen to be “as belonging to ethics, as opposed to morality, that is, as promoting substantive ends of self-realisation and the good life as opposed to the rightness of procedural justice” (Fraser, 2003: 8). It appears to be Fraser’s general idea that forms of justice today perhaps require both recognition and redistribution and that either one is not workable on its own. The question of how to embrace both is paramount to this research. Fraser (2003:9) argues that “the emancipator aspects of the two problematics should be integrated in a single comprehensive framework” (Fraser, 2003:9). Theoretically, Fraser debates that “the task is to devise a two-dimensional conception of justice that can accommodate both defensible claims for social equality and defensible claims for the recognition of difference” (Fraser, 2003:10).

Axel Honneth (2003) seems to provide a different approach. In comparison to Fraser’s ideas on the contest of recognition and redistribution, he suggests there should be a “normative monism of recognition” (Honneth, 2003:110). In examining recognition as a modified notion, he incorporates the idea of recognising rights and what he terms ‘cultural appreciation’. Honneth tries to classify within this the problem of redistribution. The product of his work seems to be a debate that Marxian frameworks of redistribution in the economy can be accommodated into concepts of recognition.

It seems that Honneth has an element of doubt regarding Fraser’s ideas between distribution and cultural recognition. Honneth wants to involve what he describes as new tendencies of a politics of identity within his alternative framework. Honneth regards the restrictions of the notion of recognition to “the demands now made by cultural minorities to be a problem” (2003:160). Of this he states that they “systematically obscure the fact that resistance to an established social order is always driven by the moral experience of in some respect not receiving what is taken to be justified recognition” (Honneth, 2003:161). Honneth then discusses cultural identity and contests for recognition by writing that “the concepts of identity politics describe the tendency of a great many disadvantaged groups not only to call for the elimination of discrimination through the exercise of universal rights, but also to demand group-specific forms of preference, recognition or participation” (2003:161). He also argues

that only by looking towards a requirement for society to acknowledge collective identities there has “been a culturalisation of social conflicts, in the sense that membership in a particular minority culture can be used to morally mobilise political resistance” Honneth (2003:162). He raises questions as to whether the politicisation of identity in a cultural sense is just another way in which identity is contested.

Regarding difference Iris Marrión Young (1990:47) states, “I believe that group differentiation is both an inevitable and desirable aspect of modern social process. Social Justice requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression”. Young (1990) further debates that a social collective is formulated by a feeling that identity is being shared and “that liberal models of social relations only conceive of associations based on common interests and fails to take account of groups arising from shared identity” (Young, 1990:44). Under Young’s ideas it could be viewed that Fainstein’s argument for justice, as she terms it, shifts away from the idea of distributing fairly to “social difference without exclusion.” (1990:238).

Young also appears to base some of her debate upon somewhat liberal models of social relations which Fainstein (2010:56) describes as “theories which have sought ways by which people with differing interests or lifestyles can remain dissimilar and live peacefully together”. However, Young (1990) also seems to discuss that debate has been aimed at eradicating differences but has not paid enough attention to the way in which antagonistic groups can be managed and governed. Taylor (1991), however, debates that “equal recognition, it could be argued, is not just the only appropriate model for a healthy democratic society. Its refusal could potentially inflict damage on those who are denied it. The demands of recognizing differences themselves take us beyond mere procedural justice” (1991:49-50). Philosophers like Young and Fraser seem to focus on expanding the concept of justice to accommodate group collaboration whilst at the same time being careful to consider equality. Fainstein, commenting about modern social processes (which have been alluded to by Young) states that “by combining the goals of material equity and recognition of difference has led to a vocabulary of social inclusion and exclusion, which acknowledge multiple forms of oppression and which has become part of the language in the European Union” (Fainstein, 2010:48).

1997 was important in the timeline of UK urban renewal and represents a significant political change in society in terms of social inclusion, exclusion and social and economic diversity. The coming to power of New Labour was representative of changes in urban renewal policy and changes to government policy with a concentration on community, empowerment, participation and social inclusion. This year, according to Tallon (2010:78), has been “hallmarked by the recognition of the interrelationship between the economic and social dimensions of urban policy”. Before New Labour were elected they signaled they would address urban problems by making social exclusion a major part of their policies on urban renewal. What appeared to be new in their policy, according to Raco (2003), was a focus on those individuals and groups that had been excluded or isolated from society and empowering communities to participate in contributing to social change.

New Labour policies and ideology under Tony Blair were directed by the work of Anthony Giddens ‘Third Way’ and was adopted by Tony Blair as a basis for redirecting the New Labour party during the 1990s. According to Cammack (2004) the Third Way “seemed to give some of the aforementioned project of modernisation a degree of intellectual gravitas. For others, it contributed to an alarming muddying of new Labour’s philosophical waters.” This was seen by some as a radical agenda that went beyond the traditional left and right politics (Giddens 1994) by promising to implement what works (Labour Party 1997:4). Tony Blair (1997) said that to him the Third Way was the best way to describe the label for the new ideology for which he thought the progressive center-left would forge in Britain and beyond.

Tallon’s (2010) typology of approaches that were central to New Labour’s urban renewal policy were focused on four areas. These were economic, socio-cultural, physical environment and governance. New Labour set out to develop an ‘urban renaissance’ based upon the work of the Urban Task Force and by using a two-pronged approach. This was firstly a city-region approach using a competitive approach with an economic development focus. Secondly New Labour sought to take a neighbourhood/community approach where there would be more focus on socially-oriented policies and agendas to tackle social isolation. Both of these approaches sought to incorporate New Labour key ideas of: social exclusion/inclusion, revival of citizenship, democratic renewal and community participation. These ideas are however contested by Cochrane (2000) who claims that contemporary urban policy at heart is about managing disorderly places.

In 1998 the Social Exclusion Unit was established under the newly-elected government. The SEU noted some past problems of regeneration initiatives. Blackman (2010) attributes these to “the absence of effective national policies to deal with the structural causes of decline; a tendency to parachute solutions in from outside, rather than engaging local communities; and too much emphasis on physical renewal instead of better opportunities for local people. Above all, a joined-up problem has never been addressed in a joined-up way”. It is these historic tensions that this research is interested in providing some contemporary answers to. Blackman further suggests “that problems have fallen through the cracks between Whitehall departments, or between central and local government”. The SEU (1998:9) documented that “at the neighbourhood level, there has been no one in charge of pulling together all the things that need to go right at the same time”. This is a message echoed in the research findings in this study as various key elite decision makers interviewed also suggest.

This research believes the idea of the center left is neo-liberal in essence and whilst Tony Blair made successful attempts to reconnect communities he did continue with some of the conservative agendas in a neo-liberal way. Blair (1997) also argued that this new way encompassed certain values including democracy, justice and liberty. Blair (1998) also comments that “it was a third way because it moves decisively beyond an old Left preoccupied by state control, high taxation and producer interests; and a new Right treating public investment, and often the very notions of society and collective endeavor, as evils to be undone” (Blair 1998:1). This is, however, a move which is a more neo-liberal agenda and again demonstrates a sea change in political, economic and social policies which were far removed compared to the more left-wing agenda of the old Labour Party during the 1970s and 1980s.

Giddens (1994) viewed the core principles regarding the Third Way as “a valid and necessary response to the globalised, post-traditional ‘runaway world’ in which social and economic realms were typified by uncertainty and risk” (Giddens 1994:3). He discussed how it was essential “to reform welfare systems to enable individuals to make meaningful, reflexive choices by which they can successfully negotiate their own life course” (1994:4). Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001) comment that attempts had been made to bring the state and the market closer and this was evident in some of the early policies brought out by New Labour.

Johnstone and Whitehead (2004:9) discuss that the relationship with the Third Way could be “represented as an uneasy and problematic marriage of the large-scale anti-poverty programmes of the post-war social democratic state, with the economic imperatives of Thatcherite neo-liberal urban policy”. There was an initial effort by New Labour to try and continue effective administration of urban renewal by allowing the SRB to continue in their way of managing it. Johnstone and Whitehead (2004:11) however argue that “the government also sought to target urban regeneration spending on the most deprived urban areas through a raft of area-based social welfare policies”.

Referring to New Labour’s approach, Clarence and Painter (1998:35) state that “collaborative discourse, which can be seen as a shift away from the input-driven systems of the post-war welfare state and the market-oriented approaches that came from the policies of the 1990s the New Right in the 1970s and 1980s that aimed to control spending”. That control in public spending and reducing the national deficit are at the heart of the current Coalition’s economic policies and accompany the austerity cuts currently being experienced in the UK. The focus of policy here seems to have moved away from the limitations of the SRB and City Challenge as these policies were limited in their effectiveness in empowering local people, dealing with social exclusion and the short-term nature of these initiatives when long-term solutions were perhaps required. New Labour seemed to recognise these failings quite well and the language of urban renewal under New Labour reignited the focus on social inclusion as a driving force for regeneration initiatives and social justice. New Labour then set up the SEU (Social Exclusion Unit) in 1997 to tackle these issues immediately after the 1997 election. This unity represents a momentous change in the approaches of correlating government policy and policies of urban renewal.

The following year in 1998 New Labour introduced the New Deal for Communities initiative that would target thirty-nine of the poorest communities in the country. Cochrane (2000) views this initiative as containing new language representing the need to deal with social inclusion and citizen participation. Evan (2001) states that this new joined up approach would encourage cross-sector collaboration and co-operation within housing, health, education and employment through this reinvigorated form of partnership working. This notion of cooperative working in these areas is something that is examined in the data collection and presented in the findings in chapter five. In 1998 the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal was set up as a direct

result of findings from the SEU and was responding to the issues within some of the most distressed communities.

When planning with redistribution in mind Fainstein points out that “planned communities designed with a goal of diversity, whether within inner cities or greenfield developments, seem inevitably to attract accusations of inauthenticity or of being simulacra rather than the real thing” (2010:71). This is not a criticism that could be levied at either of the research locations in this thesis as there is enough evidence to suggest that wide ranging diversity has been organic. This dilemma in other areas could cause planners some issue in so much as whether to allow the environment to find a natural course or whether to implement some sort of diversity order and framework. The issue of diversity is also therefore significant in the designing of neighbourhoods. According to Fainstein, the provision of housing in areas to incorporate broad ranges in income and that are not discriminatory would be helpful in attempts to achieve justice.

Nevertheless, needing to displace people, in differing forms of gentrification processes, to attain ethnic or cultural balance, or attempts to disperse poverty could be counterproductive and a breach of basic human rights. Therefore, the incorporation of diversity seems to be contended with other criteria of Fainstein's just city model, but she does acknowledge that when citizens are displaced against their wishes, then according to Fainstein “equity and democracy are not served” (2010:73). She discusses further that residents on low incomes may not feel a sense of civic pride or ownership, even if services have been improved, if the area has been diversified under certain gentrified conditions. This forced diversity then brings into question the issue of requiring exclusionary places to welcome people who are different. Of this Fainstein considers “on one hand it is simply unethical and usually illegal to practice discrimination based on ascriptive characteristics like skin colour or nationality: on the other, heavy handed forced integration contravenes democratic procedures and provokes a backlash” (2010:75).

2.5 Participation and Engagement – democracy and democratic processes.

As one of Fainstein's three criteria for obtaining urban social justice, it could be viewed that the idea of democracy is the way in which the populous demands are met in the city. According to Banks (2004:141) “a thoughtful citizenry that believes in democratic ideals and is willing

and able to participate in the civic life of the nation is essential for the creation and survival of a democratic society. Reflective and active democratic citizens make decisions and take action in the public interest.” Ladson-Billings and Tate (2006:231) define these as actions and decisions as “furthering democracy, democratic practices and social justice.” Community participation in relation to the values and understanding of the term democracy is an element that appears in the core research questions in this project. It is this participation in civic life that is clear through the co-operative working practices found during this research in the city-region. Drawing upon descriptions of democracy, Fainstein (2010:46), sees democracy as the way it “can refer to the extent to which a community demands find their way into government policy”. Fainstein, as does Lipsky (1980), attributes the growing concern for democratic control of decisions made within urban strategies as far back as the 1960s and 70s. The interest from such academics appears to be in response to the idea that decision makers on the street level, including planners, made some decisions that affected local communities without much concern to their opinions, knowledge and interests.

Citing Sherry Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of citizen participation, this can be used as a useful concept to be put forward when discussing democracy. Within this ladder constructed by Arnstein, Fainstein seems to argue that “given an increase in the level of the role of disadvantaged groups participating in the formulation and implementation of policy then there is more chance of equal redistribution outcomes” (2010:64). Arnstein, when explaining her model says that “in short it is the means by which ‘the have not’ citizens can induce significant social reform that enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (1969:216). Considering this point, it is worth noting arguments put forward about political participation, Arendt (1988) argues that “no one could be called either happy or free without participating, and having a share, in public power” (1988:255]. Arnstein argues that within minority communities, power issues can be evident, and identifies issues such as separatism that could arise as a result. She does however debate that without redistributing decisional power to some extent, there may be no redistribution of benefits to communities. Fainstein therefore debates and contributes to this argument by stating that “urban design and governance, therefore, could be seen essentially as an attempt to find the appropriate form to sustain this programme or perhaps reinforce or induce it” (2010:66).

Some proponents of democracy described by Purcell (2007:197-206) are it appears “less concerned with political outcomes and more concerned with political process”. Purcell debates

the model of participatory democracy, especially in renewal processes by commenting that “participation in democratic processes is itself a primary goal” (2007:198). Purcell (2007) puts forward the argument that “participatory democrats suggest that a citizen only reaches his or her full human potential by participating in public decisions”. This is an argument that appears to be echoed by Barber (2004) and Pateman (1970). The result of this type of democracy, according to Purcell should be the “development of energetic, wise and active citizens, more than it is the realisation of a particular political agenda” (Purcell 2007:200). Participation in systems of governance then seems fundamental to any healthy democracy and perhaps essential for determining a level at which to investigate potential evaluative criteria in the search for a fairer society.

Returning to the just city for a moment, there has been an increased rise of planning as a central practice in modern society and the struggle for more democratic planning. Fainstein states that she “seeks to outline richer arguments for diversity than appear in the planning and economic development theories of, for example, Richard Florida and that might counter the cynical invocation of diversity by private and public gentrifiers” (2010:73). This could perhaps subject the notion of equity to fuller scrutiny. There is however the complicated issue that the spatial scale in democratic processes adds to any discussion of and struggle for justice. Interestingly, in the context of this study, and of the city-region of Greater Manchester, Fainstein debates that “there is nothing about regional bodies that automatically makes them vehicles for greater equity than that possible in the individual cities that might make up a fragmented region” (2010:85).” In her book Fainstein attempts to conclude by stating that “metropolitan governing institutions potentially can redistribute income, disperse affordable housing, encompass a diverse public, and offer the possibility of popular control of a level of government with greater capacity than small municipalities, but the likelihood that they will produce these results is slim” (Fainstein 2010:85). This is essential and of interest to this study as it adds a valuable dimension and testable proposition as the recent (Nov 2014) announcements that the ten Greater Manchester Authorities, under the control of a not yet elected City Mayor, will have more devolved powers and spending budget for this city-region. How these powers and associated decision-making processes are democratically enacted is fundamental to understanding the power and politics dimension to this work.

Policy appears, in the post-war decades, to have attempted different geographically-focused ways in which to address urban deprivation and in turn provide some sort of social justice. According to Healey et al. (1992) and Robson et al. (1994) these approaches have been subject to several failings including a lack in participation from communities and a drive on property-led development. This is reflected in this thesis as this current investigation seeks to examine social justice in terms of where economic and social investment and development takes place. Despite these shortcomings, in the early years of New Labour's administration for example, a new momentum was gained in using area-based solutions to deprivation (Chatterton and Bradley, 2000).

The political and administrative way in which the city-region is now managed through the devolution agenda is yet, however, to provide detail on how democratic the processes of decision-making will be. Such participation however seems sometimes to be enshrined by legislative means such as constitutions or through the choice and design of electoral systems, this work attempts to seek out other alternatives. The work also contends where these decisions are made and by whom. Chapter three highlights the apparent lack of diversity in the various decision-making processes in the city region. This lack of diversity is highlighted by a predominance of middle-aged, middle-class white men in suits in the devolution planning and implementation.

The work now examines processes of democracy to contextualise this criterion and how it is helpful in understanding social justice in the context of urban renewal. Lynd (1965:35), states that participatory democracy seeks to achieve specifically two things. These are "that each individual takes part in all decisions affecting the quality and conduct of his/her life and that society is arranged to promote the independence of human beings and to provide the means for their common participation." It could then be viewed that the ideals of participatory democracy could be considered in terms of a design of social inclusion and would perhaps rely on the logical argument between society and the political system. With this in mind, social movements managed on a co-operative basis could be thought of as an extremely important contributor for societal and political change. From the viewpoint of Melucci (1985:295) they could "carry on conflicts and antagonistic practices, breaking the limits of the systems in which, such acts occur". Looking at it from another viewpoint, Melucci (1985) also states that social landscapes could be interpreted differently by integrating a new cultural hegemony but is this a realistic

target in a capitalist driven society? Participatory theory then seems to embrace and promote the integration, politically, of all groups and individuals in enlarging citizenship on a democratic scale. Adding to this, Miller (2005:2) contends that participatory democracy “is the antidote to technocracy, rule by experts, bureaucrats and administrators and represents a renewed faith in the intelligence and moral judgment of common citizens pursuing their daily lives and interests”. This may be because it is viewed as a radical process as there is some challenge in society to standard everyday practices.

Another alternative approach used in this exploratory review of democracy is that of deliberative democracy. The Deliberative Democracy Consortium (DDC 2008:1) state that “deliberation is an approach to decision-making in which citizens consider relevant facts from multiple points of view, converse with one another to think critically about options before them and enlarge their perspectives, opinions, and understandings”. Democracy, in terms of being deliberative, is viewed by Torres (2006:1) as being to “strengthen citizen voices in governance by including people of all races, classes, ages and geographies in deliberations that directly affect public decisions. As a result, citizen’s influence, and can see the result of their influence on, the policy and resource decisions that impact their daily lives and their future”.

In the context of this study, deliberative democracy refers to the Anglo-American and European philosophical traditions based on Habermas’ (1992) works. Habermas seems to express a common core in their declarations on deliberative democracy. Elster (1998:5) comments on Rawls and Habermas’ views by stating that “to them, political choice, to be legitimate, must be the outcome of deliberation about ends among free, equal, and rational agents”. Elster (1998:5) also debates that “this recognises and seems to imply that democracy, in a deliberative format, may depend on argumentation, not only in the sense that it proceeds by argument, but also in the sense that it must be justified by argument”.

Purcell (2007) however seems to think that some people involved in deliberative democratic processes are not as concerned with outcomes as much as they are with the process. This is important as this researcher’s framework focuses on both. According to Purcell (on deliberative democrats) “their vision seems to be that it is possible to minimize the effect of conflict and power relations if we can only communicate in the right way” (2007:201). Habermas’ (1984) work also suggests that enhanced awareness of public interests, on a collective scale, can contribute to an equitable representation of interests if citizens take on board the needs and

wants of other group's participants and the claims that they might have. It could perhaps be debated therefore that deliberative democrats seem to put importance upon communication procedures that can produce greater understanding when dealing with differing points of view. The deliberative model, according to (Purcell, 2007), "is similar in many respects to the participatory model, except that it seems to lack the latter's progressive overtones". It could therefore be considered that deliberative democracy, thoughtfully managed, could potentially be a valuable tool to empower stakeholders from local communities rather than just a form of asset-based community development of which communities are experiencing a resurgence in this type of work today.

The scale of democracy is also an important consideration in examining justice and democracy. As this investigation examines different geographical areas incorporating spatial threads of national, regional and local political boundaries, the scale of democracy is very important to this research. As some urban literature attempts to make clear, in this instance through the thoughts of Scott (1996) and Storper (1997) the city-region also stands out as a current point of interest because the city-region seems, in the context of new structures in the political economy, to be a key unit of spatiality.

As democratic communities with a political nature, city-regions (see chapter 3 regarding Manchester as a devolved city region) are made up of small-scale communities which are positioned in communities of larger scales. It is worth considering this in the context of this work, how democratically related the different scales of political community are. Scale seems to be a crucial factor, but it appears little attention seems to have been paid to this element of democratic politics. This is perhaps because of the contests between common and specific interests – something that is examined further in this thesis.

In attempting to contend with some of the democratic models, deliberative ones by contrast, would, according to Hirst (1994), possibly look for an outcome that is believed could be for the benefit of different scaled communities. It also appears to Hirst (1994) that participatory democrats in their strictest thoughts emphasize that decision making should involve people who are able to engage in groups or communities on a scale where personal participation and engagement is. Bearing this in mind, small communities would perhaps not be prepared enough to deal with some decision processes that have an impact upon communities of larger scales. For example, they may have difficulty in arranging and accommodating personal face-to-face meetings. This is particularly important when contemplating types of governance and

participation on the size of a community such as the city-region. Putnam (1995:67) debates this point and says that in this instance would “allow for communities as large as the city-region”. Yet, according to Leibovitz (2003) there is still a belief that policies on a regional scale are better than those made on a national scale as they can provide a co-operative citizenry and society that is required within the concept of democracy. This thesis argues that this, (a co-operative citizenry) is not just required within the concept of democracy but that it makes a much greater contribution in trying to make sense of the just city concept.

As suggested in the above paragraph, it may be quite a task to establish a priority as to what the ideal scale of organising governance is. Storper (1997:6) suggests, “Governance structures at the city-region scale may or may not be more democratic than smaller or larger-scale structures”. Could it therefore be argued that relationships and scale are a product of society? Swyngedouw (1997) contends that scale could be a way in which specific interests could develop agendas of a political nature. It is maybe therefore agendas like these and perhaps not the characteristics of the scales themselves that could potentially provide outcomes that are political and social.

Fainstein argues that “democratic procedures do not always produce egalitarian outcomes, technical and scientific ones incorporate disguised normative biases, growth does not always trickle down and popular preferences may be misguided” (2010:36). Leonie Sandercock writes in ‘Towards Cosmopolis’ (1998) how she wants to achieve some sort of equal balance by connecting debates around difference, justice and the socially inclusive city with other theoretical discourses. This is because, she argues, these are the type of debates which will provide empowerment to groups whose opinion is lost in the process.

2.6 Co-operative working, collaboration and partnerships

Whilst there is a fundamental focus around justice and urban renewal in this literature review there are several interesting outcomes and emergent themes that were not anticipated. The main theme in this respect has been the emergence around the notion of the co-operative city during the early stages of the study. This has been explained to some degree already in the introduction. Whilst the intention was not to explore this specific idea within Salford or Manchester it is something that has evolved from interview data and the literature collected

during the study. The practice of collaborative working is quite strong and there are evolving partnerships within the city of region of Manchester and this became apparent during the research.

Looking back historically at moves towards partnership working, John Major's Conservative government took office in 1990 and seemed to attempt to respond to some of the criticisms levied at the 1980s model of urban regeneration. Changes were characterised by the emergence of multi-sector (three way) partnerships and competitive bidding. Rather than just a focus upon the two-way relationship of public private partnerships that seemed to be predominant in the 1980s, "emphasis was put on community involvement and the voluntary sector" (Harding 1990). This significant change represents fundamental changes in policy that reflect the just city and the notion of the co-operative city being investigated in this work.

From the early 1990s there was a subtle, but significant shift during the Major and Heseltine years towards New Localism. This was based upon a challenge culture whereby there was competitive bidding between communities through competition. Funding was targeted and allocated based on successful bids and they had to demonstrate 'need' through social and economic indicators) and potential to deliver positive outcomes. Partnerships were encouraged to bid for regeneration funds with Local Authorities (LAs) being brought back into the fold as players within these partnerships although the LAs were not necessarily playing a lead role. Bids could be put together by LAs who could then help co-ordinate but had to be received from 'partnerships' (public, private and voluntary organisations) who would form themselves into a board, agency or trust. LAs were expected to seek partners, co-ordinate bids and use their powers to cut red tape.

Central government negotiated packages over three, five and seven years thus providing some relative long-term stability for planning and delivery in localities. This funding was however provided annually dependent upon monitored outcomes. This was an idea inherited from Margaret Thatcher based upon two ideas; enterprise and targeted funding but differed by bringing the LAs back into play. There was clearly a process of competitive bidding underlining approaches to urban renewal at the time.

Funding distribution during John Major's period in office therefore leaned towards a process of competitive bidding to try to encourage innovation and regeneration practice in a more sustainable way instead of focusing on distributing monies to diminish needs at given points in time. The then Secretary of State for the Environment, Michael Heseltine, was responsible for two programmes that were aimed at increasing local resident's participation in decision-making processes in their local community. These two programmes were the Single Regeneration Budget in 1993 and the City Challenge in 1991 although these were seen to have a 'patchwork quilt' of funding. This is an important consideration for this work in terms of local governance, participation and empowerment and represents significant changes to policy implemented and helps contextualise the research questions in this work. Whilst some may attribute local level governance to more recent policies such as Devo-Manc, Heseltine, later to become Deputy Prime Minister in 1995, was working on a local level and illustrated some commitment to local government and helps contextualise national, regional and sub-regional policies.

The City Challenge began in May 1991 and whilst it may not have had much of a lifespan it provided an opportunity to link up and build relationships with local communities and government. This is important to the just city and co-operative city concepts. Describing the City Challenge Healey (1995:1) comments that it was "an initiative that targets the involvement, through partnership, of residents of areas of concentrated disadvantage in the processes of programme formulation and delivery. Underlying this is the objective of incorporating neighbourhood residents in mainstream political and economic life". The City Challenge was also seen as a catalyst for more competitive approaches when thinking about the allocation of resources in cities. The just city, according to Fainstein (2010) requires an equitable distribution of resources and this challenge/policy is to some extent reflective of this need.

The context of the bids received for the City Challenge initiative was that bidders had to illustrate two things: 1) that there was potential for economic development for the area 2) the area was suffering from high-levels of deprivation. The characteristics of this initiative appear to have been led by a focus on physical regeneration often within the center of cities and the common types of projects that received the funding were community projects, housing redevelopment and high street renewal. This is evident today, but bidding is done on a far more micro level with few funds being able to be bid for due to 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012)

policies. Despite some successes, some criticism has been pointed at City Challenge which included the problems associated with the short timescale of the timetable for bids. The six-week period was insufficient to run a proper consultation. A second criticism seems to be that of funding for the City Challenge. Davoudi (1995) thinks that most of the monies were taken from other initiatives rather than finding a new pot of money on which to run it. This coupled with an increase in additional funding cuts due to the 1990s recession resulted in the City Challenge winners not being in a better position than they were previously. These numerous funds were brought together in 1994 to form the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) to address the patchwork quilt.

The overall aim of these New Localism initiatives was to try and lever innovative management systems and techniques as well as attempting to extend ‘user voice’ through increased accountability. In doing so the LAs were encouraged to return to the urban policy equation and annual funding was linked to monitored outcomes. If this is to be put in a global and economic/social context then in global economics ‘place/space’ becomes a commodity as towns and cities compete with each other for global finance and industry. This could be viewed as part of the transition from Fordism to Post Fordism and the industrial city to post industrial city and ‘place’ regeneration had become a regeneration tool. This is something that becomes evident in the case of the Manchester city-region in chapter four. Whilst cities can sell themselves as global cities (London, New York, Amsterdam), regional cities such as Manchester also have depressed districts. This is in part because medium/large sized cities have borne the cost of industrial readjustment, inadequate housing, long-term unemployment and social exclusion and inequalities continue to exist.

As explained earlier these findings have provided an opportunity to explore how this research utilises the concept of the co-operative city to make sense of the just city concept as the main thread for this thesis. This section therefore serves as an introduction to the importance of the Cooperative City to the contribution to knowledge in the thesis. Legal entities, such as cooperatives have a spectrum of different characteristics. In a co-operative there is open membership that means anyone who has the same co-operative ethos is welcome to join. As a result, the monetary benefits are divided proportionately amongst all the members dependent on the extent of the member’s activity/participation as opposed to any level of monetary investment as with a plc.

According to McLeod (2006), co-operatives can be thought of as producer, consumer or worker driven for example. McLeod debates that co-operatives are different from other corporate organisations as any “profit-making or economic stability are balanced by the interests of the community” (ICA 2011). In 1844 the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers and the ‘Rochdale Principles’ was founded. This group is widely recognised as one of the first co-operative entities which has then been successfully used since as a model for modern co-ops. At the end of the nineteenth hundred’s many social enterprises had adopted a co-operative model that involves multiple stakeholders.

The purpose of co-operatives is an attempt to create and develop community in the wider urban environment which considers people’s social and economic need. Whilst attempting to create this community asset co-operatives can help members and communities realise and discover what they need but also how they themselves can help service the needs of the community. The notion of self-help, common interests and sharing of needs can help evolve the notion of community in its developmental sense. The inference here however is not about creating one co-operative organisation that services the needs of the community but rather an attempt to create multiple co-operatives that are accessible to those who use them. These could include co-operatives for housing, banks, credit unions, health services, food services and possibly even education co-operatives.

The objective of co-operatives should be to build community within the larger urban setting around many economic and social needs. Co-operative organisations can be formed which will have the combined effect of creating community as they can assist in turning a neighbourhood inward to discover its own resources and help provide the services it needs. The co-operative idea, of self-help, sharing common interests and needs, can be the social adhesive holding an urban area together and transforming it into community. It is not suggested here that a broad range of services and activities in an urban area could be administered under a single multipurpose co-operative society, but that there is a role to play in the delivery of co-operative services that are within easy reach of its users. The general objective should be to help create an identifiable community served by many types of cooperative organisations that could include: housing, savings and credit banking facilities, medical services, food and everyday household needs, day-care, and even education institutes.

The evidence of co-operative organisations and ways of working found in the research is presented in the findings, synthesis and contribution chapters. Thus, one of the original contributions for this thesis, in terms of using the co-operative city to make sense of the concept of the just city, is the possibility of using the evidenced current structures of co-operative working in Greater Manchester to do this. The inference made in the later chapters is that an increase in the number of people contributing to co-operative practices would as well as being workers also be consumers and producers, leading to a more fair and just production, allocation and management of goods and services in local and wider communities.

The year 2000 witnessed the introduction of the Local Government Act and the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund that would be used to target these areas of multiple deprivation in society. Atkinson (2003:165) describes the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund as “A less adventurous and less generously funded source of regeneration funding which was created by the 2000 Comprehensive Spending Review”. However, this fund appeared to illustrate the governments continued commitment to neighbourhood renewal. It was directed at the eighty-eight of the most deprived local authority areas (judged on the Indices of Multiple deprivation) and was aimed at improving the public services of these localities via the multi-agency Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs). Initially the NRF was set up to operate for three years with total spending of around 900 million. The 2002 Comprehensive Spending Review extended its life for a further three years and allocated an additional 975 million for the final two years. However, this was criticised for being relatively short-term when compared with seven-year SRB projects and 10-year NDCs. This is important because the terms of this can be criticised and seen as contradictory as New Labour set out to offer long-term strategies.

Also, in 2000 Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) were created to ensure strategic and joined-up working at the local level to contribute to neighbourhood regeneration. This demonstrates a correlation between urban renewal policy and changes to government policy. In the case of Salford (one of the research sites for this thesis) a PA Team (Participatory Appraisal) changed to CIT (Community Involvement Team). These teams were originally associated with the 88 of the most disadvantaged local authority areas contained within the 2001 National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal action plan (Oatley 2000) and allocated and oversaw the use of the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (Johnson and Osborne 2003). LSPs were the main policy vehicle for delivering regeneration in England as they were a cross-sector umbrella

partnerships that were to bring together the public, private, voluntary and community sectors to provide a single overarching local co-ordination framework within which other, more specific partnerships can work. According to Smith et al (2007:227) “They typically include local government, local health and education authorities, the police and community representation.”

2.7 Devolution and city region status

In 2009, following a bid from AGMA highlighting the potential benefits in combating the late 2000s financial crisis, it was announced that Greater Manchester and the Leeds City Region would be awarded Statutory City Region Pilot status, allowing (if they desired) for their constituent district councils to pool resources and become statutory Combined Authorities with powers comparable to the Greater London Authority. The stated aim of the pilot was to evaluate the contributions to economic growth and sustainable development by Combined Authorities. The Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Act 2009 enabled the creation of a Combined Authority for Greater Manchester with devolved powers on public transport, skills, housing, regeneration, waste management, carbon neutrality and planning permission, pending approval from the ten councils. Such strategic matters would be decided on via an enhanced majority rule voting system involving ten members appointed from among the councilors of the metropolitan boroughs (one representing each borough with each council nominating one substitute) without the input of central government. It is important to note here that in 2012 the people of Greater Manchester voted against the imposition of a city mayor.

The ten district councils of Greater Manchester then approved the creation of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) on 29 March 2010 and submitted final recommendations for a constitution to the Department for Communities and Local Government and the Department for Transport. On 31 March 2010, the Communities Secretary John Denham approved the constitution and launched a fifteen-week public consultation on the draft bill together with the approved constitution. Following requests by the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities, which was superseded by the GMCA, the new authority of GMCA came into being on 1 April 2011. On the same day, the Transport for Greater Manchester

Committee was also formed from a pool of thirty-three councilors allocated by council population (roughly one councilor per 75,000 residents) to scrutinise the running of Greater Manchester's transport bodies and their finances, approve the decisions and policies of said bodies and form strategic policy recommendations or projects for the approval of the Combined Authority.

Designated a city region on 1 April 2011, the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) is the top-tier administrative body for the local governance of Greater Manchester. It was established on 1 April 2011 as a pilot combined authority, unique to local government in the United Kingdom. It consists of ten indirectly elected members, each a directly elected councilor from one of the ten metropolitan boroughs that comprise Greater Manchester. Beneath the GMCA are the ten councils of Greater Manchester's ten districts, which are Bolton, Bury, the City of Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, the City of Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan. These district councils have the greatest powers over public services, and control matters such as council tax, education provision, social housing, libraries and healthcare.

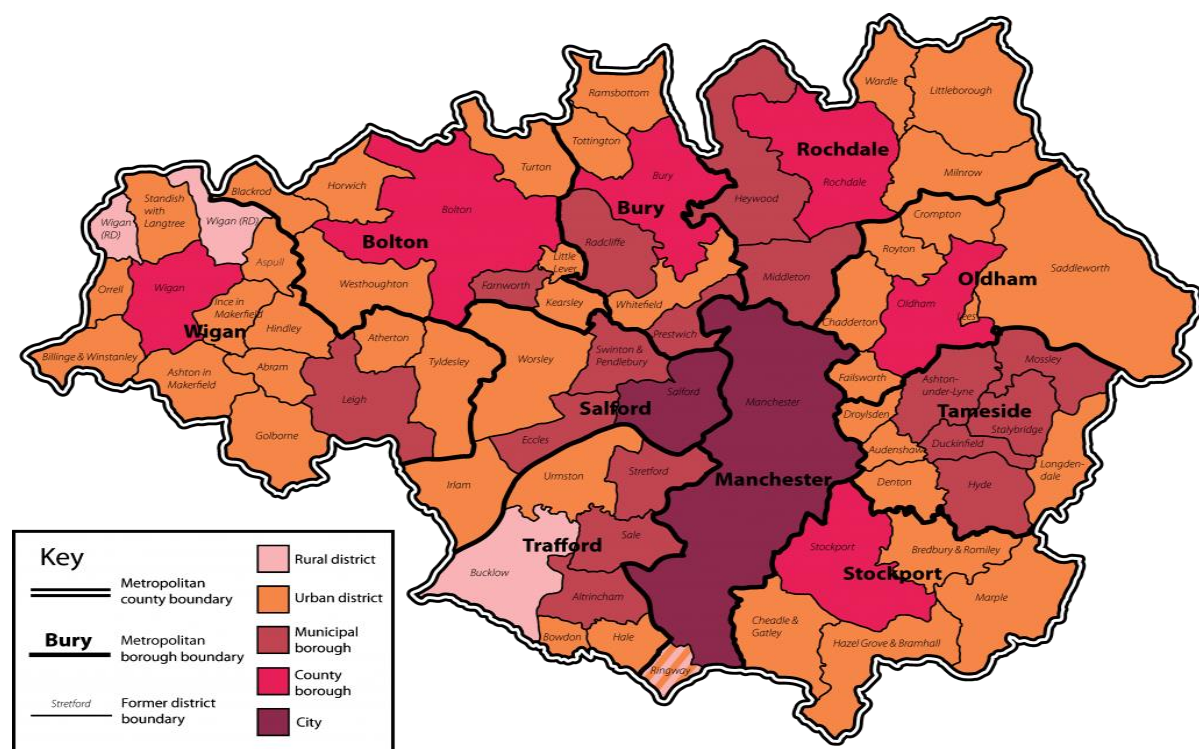


Fig 1. The ten Greater Manchester local authorities. Source – thinktankreview.org 2014

The authority derives most of its powers from the Local Government Act 2000 and Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Act 2009, and replaced a range of single-purpose joint boards and quangos in 2011, to provide a formal administrative authority for Greater Manchester with powers over public transport, skills, housing, regeneration, waste management, carbon neutrality and planning permission. Functional executive bodies, such as Transport for Greater Manchester, are responsible for delivery of services in these areas.

On 3 November 2014, the Devolution to the Greater Manchester Combined Authority agreement was signed to pass further powers and responsibilities, as well as the establishment of an elected Mayor of Greater Manchester with the first mayoral election to be held in 2017. The directly elected Mayor of Greater Manchester, will have powers over transport, housing, planning and policing from 2017. However, requests in January 2015 were made from the Chancellor stipulating that an interim mayor must be in place by June 2015, so the city region can commence utilisation of the extra powers and budgets.

Although used as a successful brand (Walker 2008), Greater Manchester's politics have been viewed, according to Parkinson-Bailey (2000), as being entrenched in localism and related rivalries along with historically resistant to regionalism. The major towns in Greater Manchester retain a “fierce independence” (Kidd 2012:12) meaning Greater Manchester is administered using inter-municipal coordination on a broadly voluntary basis. That eight of the ten borough councils have (for the most part) been Labour-controlled since 1986, has helped maintain this informal co-operation between the districts at a county-level. This has been important when examining different types and levels of democracy in this research.

It was New Labour that introduced the elected mayor (London) and cabinet style decision making on a local level which has been taken from the North American model. It appears that the Coalition are following New Labour's introduction of elected mayoral leadership in cities. The Localism Act in 2011 was introduced at devolving local powers and the coalition thought that the more power they can decentralise the better but at the same time they centralised schools and health. This brings into question the argument put forward later in this thesis that the package agreed was not for full devolution in its true sense. The general trend however has been, and is currently, to decentralise. This is interesting because nobody at the centre of the Coalition has the experience of running a city before on a cultural as well as a political basis.

They are professional politicians, so they operate in a world where they understand what makes decisions not necessarily how to implement them. George Osborne and David Cameron do however seem to be cosmopolitan and metropolitan politicians – Cameron passing the gay marriage bill during a conservative government is a good illustration of this. Perhaps this has been reflected in the relationship between George Osborne and David Cameron in Westminster and Sir Howard Bernstein and Sir Richard Leese in Manchester. There seems to be a good balance of the administrative leadership of Bernstein and the political leadership of Leese and it seems that Cameron and Osborne like the way Leese and Bernstein run the city.

Hutton (2012:42) writes that “cities are where economic growth takes wing, political movements are incubated, and cultures formed. The more dynamic our cities, the more vibrant the entire interconnecting web of factors – cultural, social, economic, political – that will drive our economy and civilization forwards”. There is a growing intellectual interest in cities as drivers for growth and well-being in their own right: vibrant cities and civilisations go hand in hand. Harvard University’s Edward Glaeser promotes this idea in his book *Triumph of the City* (2012) where he develops a theory of why and what kinds of high urban density trigger stronger levels of innovation, small firm formation and virtuous circle effects across every area of human endeavor. Glaeser explains that urban space has always been central to humanity because it maximizes the chance for spontaneous interaction and serendipity. However, in today’s knowledge economy it is not just the sheer numbers of people that count but their quality in terms of what they can offer society.

Glaeser plots the dynamism of American cities against the relative size of their skilled workforce. Glaeser explains that The Work Foundation plots the dynamism of British cities against the size of their knowledge economy, one whose indicators is the proportion of graduates. Both Glaeser and the Work Foundation come to the same conclusion that what makes London great is an agglomeration of remarkable and very different people – an important reason to be liberal about immigration. Hutton (2012) then goes on to think about these ideas and argues that one way of thinking about Britain’s economic challenge is to recast it as an urban challenge. He argues that if our cities grow so will the economy and that we should celebrate urban density and we should find ways to concentrate our people in enjoyable urban spaces. We should then perhaps make sure that our cities connect with each other and the best way to do this is to make sure that our cities have greater powers to govern and tax

themselves. In this instance cities like Manchester need Devo-Manc along with mayors with the savvy to develop more just and cooperative cities.

George Osborne, through the devolution agreement made the first of three significant announcements on changes to the way services were to be run across Greater Manchester. The devolution package that was on offer, and subsequently agreed, represented an important shift in the political authority of the city-region to exercise greater control over its services. The Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) and its ten members¹ have sought to engage with the devolution package in its various stages even accepting the condition of a transitional/temporary mayor (June 2015) leading to a directly elected mayor in May 2017. This deviance from what this researcher views as true devolution is considered when thinking about democracy as a criterion for a just city. It also represents an important experiment outside of London, in city governance in the UK. Scott (1996) and Storper (1997) highlight that city-regions stand out as a point of interest because they seem to be emerging as a key spatial unit in the ongoing restructuring of the global political economy. As political communities and as democratic publics, city-regions are both made up of smaller-scale communities situated in larger-scale communities. In this study it is considered how the ten authorities have worked on a collaborative city-region basis in the period preceding the devolution decision and how this lends itself to the idea that Manchester has the potential to be a cooperative city.

Manchester City Council Leader, Sir Richard Leese, speaking in September 2014, warned Westminster that they would suffer at the ballot box if the devolution packages on offer to Scotland were not equalled or improved upon. In an interview with the Observer (2014:4) he said, “You can’t be handing more and more powers to Scotland without answering the English question”. Leese thinks that election wise devolution has become a critical issue to northern England as he stated that “I don’t think the English public will accept devolution in parts of the UK without devolution in England, that’s why it becomes a political imperative because ultimately it becomes a ballot box issue”. On this Townsend (2014) debates that Manchester has been able to present itself as a city capable of illustrating that that decentralising powers is viable.

Devo-Manc began this process of localized governance with an initial devolvement of £2 billion of spending for transport, planning and skills training and housing was followed in

February 2015 by a further £6 billion which would devolve the health and social care sector. Jenkins (2015:24) writes that “NHS in crisis has become a national cliché. Big has not worked. Now is the turn of the small.” What has appeared to be in essential in brokering this deal is the relationship Osborne appears to have with the two Manchester figureheads in the deal. Chief Executive Howard Bernstein and City Council Leader Sir Richard Leese. Osborne appears to favour the can-do approach from these two leaders. Whilst there is some detachment in Osborne’s Westminster responsibilities to that of a localised agenda for Greater Manchester he is, after all, a local MP. Leese and Bernstein have rejuvenated Manchester since the IRA bomb in 1996 and they have successfully marshaled the ten local authorities into a Greater Manchester Authority, with a temporary mayor soon to be replaced by an elected mayor in June 2017. It could be argued that Bernstein and Leese display the traits of city bosses something the professional politicians Cameron and Osborne perhaps admire. The focus locally however is now firmly on Leese, Bernstein and the newly-elected Mayor, Andy Burnham. Centrally the city region now must negotiate with Teresa May, the current Prime Minister.

2.8 Emanating Core Research Questions

Moving from an abstract concept to conducting concrete research, the core questions below have emanated from the proposition. Fundamentally they are: -

- i) What are the processes and relationships employed in urban renewal in cities and in particular Greater Manchester and Salford?**

To add a theoretical contribution to knowledge the research seeks to ascertain whether the city-region of Greater Manchester has the potential to be just. To do this an understanding of the way in which different people and organisations work with each other across the region is necessary. This research question looks to discover how strong these relationships are and how the processes of urban renewal are formulated.

- ii) How are they managed and who is involved?**

This question examines the idea of participation on various levels within the city-region and across different sectors. As question one unpicks the processes and relationship element of the research, this question seeks to uncover more regarding the ideologies, agendas and roles of different stakeholders involved, not just in management positions. Fundamentally the question wants to uncover who the key decision makers are, what influences them and how more people

can take an active role in enhancing relationships and collaborative working. Interviewing political elites to do this adds a methodological contribution to knowledge.

iii) What are the resultant outcomes and contributing factors?

The social, political and economic outcomes of urban renewal practice are investigated through this question to find out how the quality and quantity of processes, relationships and stakeholder involvement (discovered in questions 1 and 2) have been successful or unsuccessful. The question also provides an opportunity to examine what internal and external influences have impacted upon people and processes involved in urban renewal in Greater Manchester.

This research takes the view that justice is only one of a few components of a vision of the good but if Fainstein stops short of the good city concept, as she says she does, what place is there for notions of the co-operative city? This researcher believes there are shared interpretations of justice that are dependent on social, geographical and historical contexts that help explain this challenge. As a result, the thesis will seek to establish the perceptions of what 'constitutes justice' to the communities of Cheetham and Broughton and how this research can make sense of that through evidence found of co-operative working.

Participation in systems of governance also seems fundamental to any healthy democracy and has been key for determining the scales and levels of investigation for this project. Arnstein and Purcell's thoughts within this chapter exemplify this. This work thinks that consideration should be given to the different scales of how communities operate politically and how the links to participation are related democratically. This becomes important to this thesis with the devolution of Greater Manchester and how Manchester has been previously managed under the GMCA. What will be the impact of distributing decisional power in Greater Manchester though? The Labour party has promised mass city devolvment in the future in the UK. Decision making under the GMCA and future connotations of the devolution powers and structure agreed for Greater Manchester will be examined to see if democratic procedures have been, or will be, affected. Core research question one reflects the need to identify the relationships and processes of urban renewal.

Fainstein's framework has been used as a basis from which to review the literature and form a coherent conceptual proposition as a starting point for this research. Because of Fainstein's

suggestions, the research areas and subsequent core questions underpinning this work in the city-region of Greater Manchester, will be examined and evaluated in relation to their political regimes and development outcomes. By analysing the varying trajectories of the different sites this will aim to contribute towards the growing theoretical debate underpinning this work on social justice.

Set within a broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity the claim to originality in this work is done through interrogating and adapting Fainsteins notion of the 'just city', to position co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester City Region. More specifically this work claims that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the 'just city' might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

This work adds the growing call for a reformulation and revaluation of policy and process, essential for revitalisation, that can be a program of urban social movements and the object of future local and national policy.

Chapter 3

Researching Justice and Urban Renewal

3.1 Introducing the Methodological Approach

Examined in this thesis is the management of urban renewal policy and practice in the five-year period of 2010-2015. Set within a backdrop of recession, austerity and a Conservative-led Coalition government, and by using the period of 2010-2015 it is possible to contextualise and examine social justice within a particular paradigm. As explained in chapter two the research draws upon Susan Fainstein's notion of the Just City (2010) and her evaluative criteria of diversity, democracy and equity within global cities as an initial platform to formulate a framework to investigate urban renewal and governance in the city region of Greater Manchester. This chapter on methodological understanding will draw out why the methodological reasoning supports the methods used and why case studies have been used as a research approach. The investigative framework for this research is based on answering the following core research questions from chapter 2 and it is these questions that underpin the exploratory and subsequent methodological framework for this research:

- i) What are the processes and relationships employed in urban renewal in cities and in particular Manchester and Salford?
- ii) How are they managed and who is involved?
- iii) What are the resultant outcomes and contributing factors?

In the just city, Susan Fainstein sets out "to develop an urban theory of justice and to use it to evaluate existing and potential institutions and programs" (Fainstein, 2010:5) in New York, London, and Amsterdam. She wants to make "justice the first evaluative criterion used in policy making" (Fainstein, 2010:6). By using Fainstein's framework as an initial vehicle in which to develop this research in its early stages it has been possible to examine the city-region of Greater Manchester, the political regimes and development outcomes. To do this the research has analysed the different trajectories of different parts of the Greater Manchester city-region. Within these geographical parts of the city-region this research has examined two

distressed wards adjacent to each other, although in the different council districts of Manchester and Salford, both are currently subject to programmes of urban renewal. The two locations will be used as part of the ‘case study’ approach to this research.

The reasons for choosing these sites has also emanated from the fact that the researcher has lived and worked in these communities for years. This has allowed the researcher to witness at first hand some of these initiatives and has some lived experience of this area and the way in which people and place interact with one another. By using this area for investigation, it was felt that a familiarity with the landscape will assist in explicitly answering the research questions. Observational community walks and participant observations were deemed as a feasible way into investigating an area for which there was existing geographical and demographic knowledge. Caution has been taken in terms of bias by considering the thoughts of Bartunek and Louis (1996) who argue that “People who are insiders to a setting being studied often have a view of the setting and any findings about it quite different from that of the outsider researchers who are conducting the study”. The ‘insider’ position of this researcher however has been viewed as a positive element to these case studies.

A case study looks at a situation in depth and has been used here as a way of narrowing what could have potentially been a broad subject area to research into a more defined and focussed research topic. The use of case studies in this work have allowed further elaboration on the topic and help justify the contributions to knowledge which are discussed in more depth in chapters five and six. Using case studies have been useful for testing whether the adaptation of Fainstein’s just city concept can be applied to a real-world situation in the Manchester city-region and if the adapted model actually works. The case studies have provided more than a general picture and have, in this work, been important in understanding the specific cases in ensuring a more holistic approach to the research. The arguments for and against this case study approach are detailed on page 68.

Qualitative and primary data collection for this research is predominately focused and based on a series of semi-structured interviews with key representative and elite decision makers who have occupied positions in various organisational layers of the city-region institutions from within the public, private and community/voluntary sectors. Participant observations have also been integral but the reasoning behind this chosen method is explained later in this chapter. The choice of using interview methods has been complemented with the collection of other primary data through participant observations and through analysis of secondary data. This

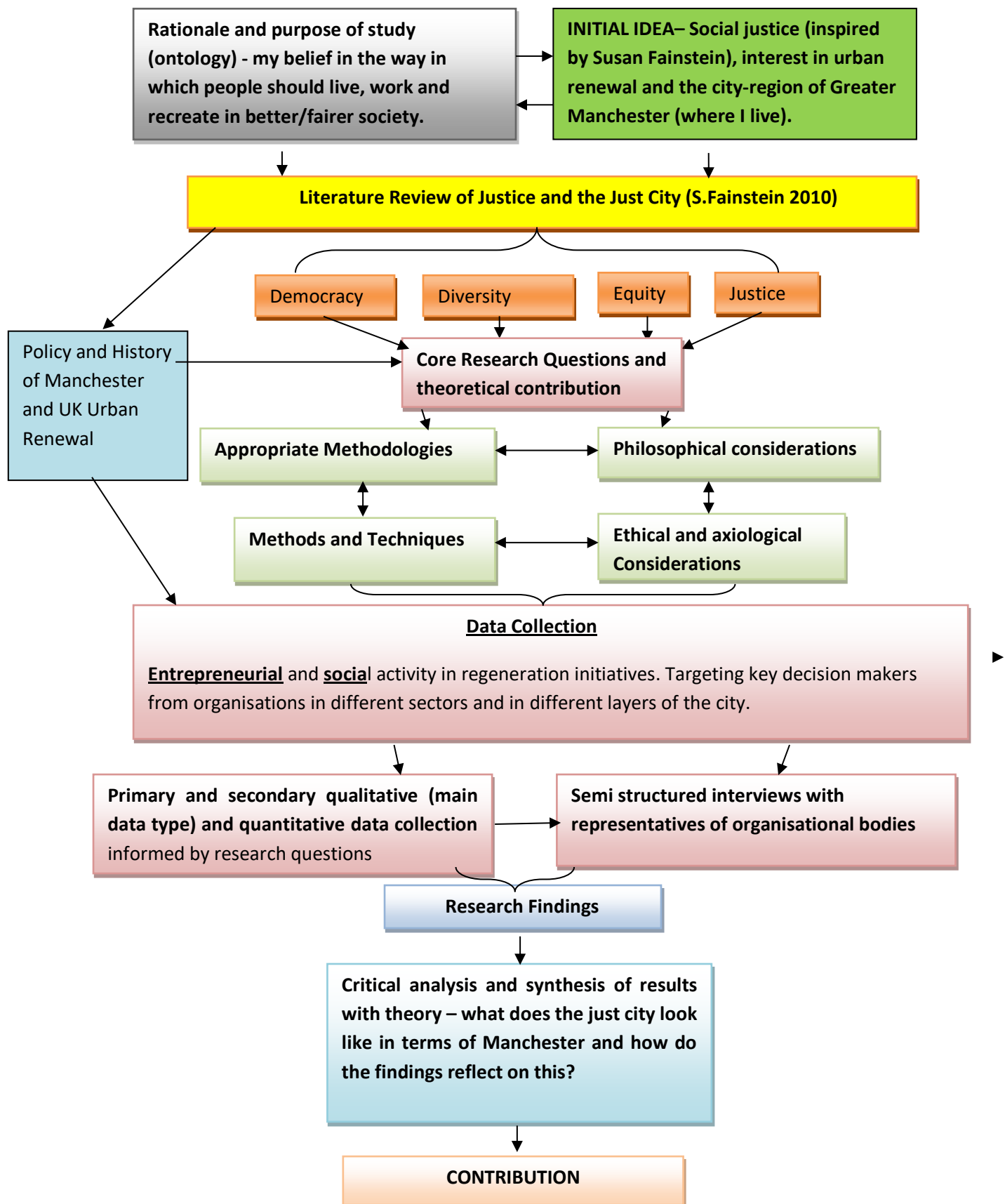
has allowed the research to draw on Fainstein's framework to examine social justice in the context of the globally connected city-region of Greater Manchester. Perceptions and observations of programmes/initiatives within urban renewal are examined to ascertain whether there is any evidence that a fairer society is, or has the potential to be, created within certain social, political and economic conditions in Greater Manchester.

To do this an initial conceptual framework early in the project was required to distinguish that the methodologies and methods to be used were two different entities when seeking to apply suitable research techniques. The beginning of this methodology section presents a theoretical and conceptual basis on which the research operated along with reference to the key texts and literature supporting them on the approach used. As the research attempts to ascertain whether the just city concept can be applied to cities with differing scales and structures, discussion will involve whether the researcher thinks the methods used were in some way experimental or if it was a standard practice used by researchers. The section also discussed how much emphasis, credibility and reliability the results have. This research will to some extent test the research methods and questions, to examine whether they were appropriate in different situations. To provide a visual conceptualisation of this researcher's investigative framework. Figure 2, below, provides an overview of the journey that this research has undertaken and how this initial plan has helped inform the choices in the appropriate methodological approach.

The remainder of this chapter will include a commentary, summary and analysis of the underlying approach, methods/techniques chosen and the challenges that the researcher faced in implementing the research methodology. The weaknesses and strengths of the research framework and researcher's skill in interviewing and observing are also critiqued. Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson (2012:27) state that "The methodology should also explain the weaknesses of your chosen approach and how you plan to avoid the worst pitfalls". Attempts will be made to do this along with any refinements to the initial research framework that were made as the work progressed to avoid these pitfalls.

It should be considered that research projects have strong and weak points and that numerous ethical dilemmas and challenges occur, but this researcher thinks that the most important aspect of designing this piece of research for this investigator was addressing what was needed to be found out. Fundamentally the chapter on methodologies, despite whatever methods and the associated philosophical approaches, were chosen along to deal with and address the specific research questions.

Figure 2. Investigative framework (early planning stages)



3.2 The methodological paradigm – ontology and epistemology

In distinguishing the methodologies and methods used, Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson's (2012:25) principles on both have been considered in the design of this process. They state that within research design there are four very closely related characteristics. There are four key features of this research design which include firstly the ontology which sets out how this researcher views the world and the secondly the ontology which represents thoughts about the best way of thinking about and investigating that view of the world. After considering these first two philosophical and personal choices the third characteristic is that of the methodology where relevant research design is considered so the fourth characteristic, that of choosing the methods/techniques, can take place.

Easterby-Smith et al (2012) refer to these four elements as being part of a tree trunk and that the outer ring on a tree trunk represents the methods with the other three being the rings inside. They state that without the outer ring the inner rings (epistemology, ontology and methodology) would perish and they also highlight the fact that these four elements need have clarity and have some consistency. Easterby Smith et al (2012:26) also debate that “these principles are the same, whether you are doing scientific research in a laboratory or sending out a customer questionnaire”.

Denzim and Lincoln (1994:107-9) describe a paradigm as a “set of basic beliefs that deals with ultimate or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for the holder, the nature of the world, the individuals place in it”. They also point towards three fundamental questions about these type of enquiry paradigms; “The ontological question of what is the form of nature and reality and what can be known about it; the epistemological question regarding relationship between the knower and what can be known and the methodological question of how the enquirer can go about finding out what can be known.” (1994:108)

The researcher has taken this approach in thinking about the research paradigm and that before choosing the methods, there needs to be an understanding of their relevance to this researcher's view of the world. Paradigms are considered here in terms of it being necessarily philosophical in nature. Paradigms are viewed as a set of assumptions about the world, and about what constitutes proper topics and techniques for enquiring about it. Put simply, it is a way of looking at the world and it means a view of how enquiry should be done and is also a broad term for encompassing epistemology, theory and philosophy along with methods. This research has

taken a paradigm-driven approach whereby the planning started with a paradigm from which research questions were developed from it along with appropriate methods. Denzin and Lincoln (1994:107-109) describe a paradigm as “telling us what the reality is like (ontology), what the relationship is between that reality and the researcher (epistemology) and what methods can be used for studying the reality (methodology)”. This section will consider these three elements further to assist in demonstrating the rationale for the choices made throughout this research.

Ontology

With a personal ideology based on the creation of a fairer society, the work of David Harvey, Manuel Castells and Susan Fainstein, discovered during undergraduate studies on a human geography degree, have resonated in this researcher’s ideas of social justice, the city and urban renewal. As indicated in the introductory chapter and in the conceptual proposition (Chapter 2) they have had some major influence upon some of the choices for this study.

This researcher is from a working-class background and has witnessed first-hand in places of residency (Cheetham) and places of work (Salford), levels of unacceptable poverty and inequality. Now working in a professional environment and, as part of this role, this researcher works within distressed communities in the Manchester city-region. This personal and professional experience is how this researcher has constructed knowledge around social justice and about what the reality is like (ontology) regarding the social, economic and political experiences facing people in the places where they live and work in the two cities of Salford and Manchester.

The impact of austerity measures, enforced by neoliberal central government and then local government agendas, has had a detrimental impact upon communities and the goods and services they require to make themselves sustainable, as well as socially and economically prosperous, are being taken away. The gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ is getting wider. The inequality gap is more visible in this capitalist driven society where the focus is upon economic development in the hope that the social benefits will trickle down to those who need it. The view of this researcher is that this trickle-down effect takes too long and that more must be done to address social and economic inequalities – this lies at the heart of urban renewal processes that can have a more immediate impact.

The subject matter, framework for the study and the investigative choices have all been informed and shaped by the belief that some of the problems facing communities can be reduced. This is through the processes of urban renewal, particularly how communities are invested in socially and economically and subsequently how they are managed, can work with one another and participate in decision making in these processes. These decision-making processes form an important part of urban renewal. In this instance of the Manchester city-region consideration is given as to how knowledge is constructed about the best way to manage devolution and urban renewal, by whom it is constructed and how it is used. This will be discussed as part of the epistemology

This researcher's ontology is therefore based upon concepts of social justice and how best to achieve it in the Manchester city-region. The belief here, is that the Manchester city-region is well placed to attempt to become a more just city through embracing unique working practices to realise and promote social justice and a fairer more equal society despite some of the current inequalities and pressures.

Epistemology

Epistemologically, in the discipline of social sciences, there are different ways in which to examine society in terms of how knowledge is constructed. Therefore, epistemology is about the science of knowledge. The main way in which to understand knowledge considered for this work has been the social constructionist epistemology approach in this qualitative research. Guba and Lincoln (1994:109-11) state that with constructivism "realities are local, specific and constructed: they are socially and experientially based and depend on the individuals or groups holding them". A social constructionists approach appears, on the face of it to fit better with this researcher's view of the world. Charmaz (2000) contends that an understanding of its core concepts is important in evaluating its impact on the methodology.

Constructionism needs to be understood so that this research can better evaluate the nature and validity of the arguments surrounding its use in this examination of social justice. The terms 'constructivism' and 'social constructionism' tend to be used interchangeably and subsumed under the generic term 'constructivism' particularly by Charmaz (2000). Constructivism proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes while social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus (Young & Colin, 2004)

Berger and Luckmann (1991) are concerned with the nature and construction of knowledge: how it emerges and comes to have significance for society. They view knowledge as created by the interactions of individuals within society which is central to constructionism (Schwandt, 2003). For Berger and Luckmann (1991), the division of labour, the emergence of more complex forms of knowledge and what they term 'economic surplus' gives rise to expert knowledge, developed by people devoting themselves full-time to their subject. Berger and Luckmann (1991) also view society as existing both as objective and subjective reality. The former is brought about through the interaction of people with the social world, with it in turn influencing people resulting in routinisation and habitualisation.

The experience of society as subjective reality is achieved through primary, and to a lesser extent, secondary socialisation. The former involves being given an identity and a place in society. Indeed, Burr (1995) suggests that our identity originates not from inside the person but from the social realm. Socialisation takes place through significant others who mediate the objective reality of society, render it meaningful and in this way, it is internalised by individuals (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This is done through the medium of language.

Considering the way in which knowledge is constructed in urban renewal processes, as introduced in the previous section, it is pertinent here to put this into the context of this work. Earlier there was discussion surrounding this researcher's ontology and how and where decisions are made in the city-region. The point about how they are managed and by whom is of importance here. This researcher contends that there is an imbalance in where the decision-making power lies. The political and power dynamics in play are about gender imbalances. These imbalances have been witnessed and encountered through the gender of the interviewees, but also whilst reviewing the devolution process, how it is being managed and by whom. This has been done through collection of literature, observations of secondary material and attendance at devolution events in Manchester.

In terms of the relevance for the 'just city' middle-class males holding power within urban renewal and devolution decision making does not represent equity in achieving social justice. This is a question of the 'just-city'. Whilst this is worth mentioning, as it holds a particular importance, it is not a focus of the study but further work in the future would seek to highlight this as part of how devolution continues to be managed and implemented in the future. Perhaps the new chief executive of Manchester City Council, Joanne Roney OBE, will help readdress some of these visible imbalances in decision making in the city-region.

Berger and Luckmann (1991) maintain that conversation is the most important means of maintaining, modifying and reconstructing subjective reality. Subjective reality is comprised of concepts that can be shared unproblematically with others. In other words, there is shared meaning and understanding, so much so that concepts do not need to be redefined each time they are used in everyday conversation and come to assume a reality which is, by and large, taken for granted. Social constructionism accepts that there is an objective reality. It is concerned with how knowledge is constructed and understood. It has therefore an epistemological not an ontological perspective.

The underlying personal philosophy, described above, has affected the choice of research methods for this project. Graham (2005:30) states “Underlying the research will be certain philosophical assumptions and a concept of the nature of relationships in society. Ignorance to your philosophical roots implies a less than full understanding of what you are doing”. This research considers Sayer’s (1985:183) thoughts on change, “ultimately realists want to find out what produces change, what makes things happen and what allows, or forces change.” These thoughts have been influential in the theoretical and philosophical stance in this work and has helped shaped the core research questions.

The ontology and epistemology are valid to this research and there have been some difficult choices, but this researcher has endeavored to ensure that this research has attempted to be as internally consistent as possible and that the chosen ontology and epistemology have had implications for the remaining choices within the methodology and ethical considerations. The methods for data collection are discussed in more depth on pages 73 - 89.

3.3 Ethical considerations and the role of this researcher

At the heart of the ethical considerations the thoughts of Skelton (2001:96) are relevant as Skelton argues that as researchers “we must remember why we are doing it and what the research we do means for other people”. Punch (1994) discusses some of the other ethical issues arising from social research, pertinent to this study, these are issues of, deception, consent, harm confidentiality and privacy. Miles and Huberman (1994:290-7) list three main areas where ethical consideration is warranted. These are issues that arise early in the project, issues arising as the project evolves and thirdly issues that arise later in, or after the project.

This study has undergone the appropriate ethical and axiological process and Edge Hill University with the research ethics committee.

The ethical questions raised for the project include issues of sensitivity and respect when researching cultural, social and economic differences in individuals and groups within local communities. The ESRC's Framework for Research Ethics details that, "research involving primary data collection will always raise issues of ethics that must be addressed" (ESRC, 2010:37). This research has been careful to be responsible in terms of data collection and dissemination whilst at the same time answering the core research questions from appropriate chosen methodologies and methods.

As this project has collected primary data from local and regional community and institutional representatives/activists in culturally differing communities, the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) has provided a useful ethical guide for this type of social research to protect the participants involved. The principal aim of the ESRC (2010) ethics review document which has been adhered to in this work aimed "to protect all groups involved in research: participants, institutions, funders and researchers throughout the lifetime of the research and into the dissemination process" (ESRC, 2010). The British Psychological Society (BPS) also provides a code to ethical research principles which has been used to address ethical data collection issues encountered in the work as they set out principles of "respect, competence and responsibility" (BPS, 2010:9) as guidance for social researchers. These principles have been this researcher's main domain of responsibility within the research procedures and methodologies employed in this social research/study.

The two research sites have quite different demographics and diverse populations and raised potentially different ethical questions. Broughton in Salford for example is a mainly white, working-class area of multiple deprivation and high unemployment with associated social issues. Cheetham in Manchester on the other hand provides a culturally diverse population comprising of an above national average of religious (Jewish and Muslim residents) and ethnic groups (Pakistani, Indian and Afro-Caribbean residents). This research has sometimes encountered personal, potentially sensitive issues of difference and class, belonging, beliefs, race, traditions, cultural practices, political preferences, financial positioning and standard of living which were expected to be raised when interviewing participants. Considering these potential personal and sensitive issues for this social research in both of the research sites the

British Educational Research Association (BERA) suggests that “individuals should be treated fairly, sensitively, with dignity, and within an ethic of respect and freedom from prejudice regardless of age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity, partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other significant difference” (2011:5).

Following BERA’s ethical framework regarding researching in communities, this researcher has ensured that their protocol has been followed. It states, “Educational researchers should operate within an ethic of respect for any persons involved in the research they are undertaking” BERA (2010:5). This duty of care and sensitivity referred to by BERA is also highlighted by Edge Hill University’s Framework for Research Ethics document (2012) which documents “all researchers have a duty of care to research subjects, fellow researchers, students and themselves. This includes ensuring such conditions as confidentiality and anonymity, informed consent, treatment with dignity, avoidance of harm or deception, appropriate dissemination” (UREC 2011:2).

BERA also documents that researchers must also not bring research into disrepute. BERA (2012:10) list several directives that indicate disrepute, and these have always been observed in this research. This investigator has therefore, in accordance with current BERA, ESRC, BPS and Edge Hill’s University ethics guidelines (UREC, 2011), assessed and paid attention to the risks and burdens of participant’s involvement particularly where stress and conflict could have arisen. This may be because participation could have compromised their position as a resident, employee or active participant in the local community. Participants have not been put in a position of harm, either mentally or physically. These ethical guides have been applied both to the researcher and any person/persons or groups who have directly or indirectly taken part in the research.

It has been the responsibility of this researcher therefore to ensure that all participants understood their role in the project and are confident with the information provided to them. Subsequently, participants have therefore be respected and not been pressed on any issues if the researcher felt the participant or researcher was uncomfortable in understanding or in providing any testimony and reasoning when collecting information and data. Provision of the project information sheet and participant consent form had allowed this researcher to ascertain at primary stages, the level of understanding from the potential informant. It was anticipated, and experienced, that engagement and interaction with lead agencies and local

activists/representatives in the communities of interest would be conducted to a satisfactory level of English therefore no interpretation was necessary.

Ethical questions have also arisen after the field work took place in disseminating the findings. This has been alluded to earlier, in chapter two, through the work of Miles and Huberman (1994). For example, when this researcher provides descriptions of participants in the case study (chapter four), care has been needed to ensure that the descriptions are not easily attributed to an individual. This has especially been in this case of interviewing elites in the Manchester city-region as some of the participants have characteristics or views that would otherwise make them easily identifiable. This has been discussed further in section 3.4.7 of this chapter.

The participants were informed what their contribution would be (see Project Information Sheet – appendix 1), their consent requirement and what would be happening with the information (see Consent form – appendix 2) and that they would be subject to anonymity unless they expressed otherwise. Consideration of the impact upon people's families and careers has been important so participants have been provided with anonymity, but they gave permission for their information to be archived or discussed with the supervisor team for example. Please see the attached data protection statement (appendix 3) which have been provided to all the willing voluntary participants to negate this ethical issue. All signed PIS, consent and data protection forms signed by the participants have been held securely on an encrypted hard drive and the original paper copies filed securely.

Whilst this researcher has some familiarity with the two research sites, having worked and lived in Greater Manchester for seventeen years, the relationships and expectations between the researcher and researched was addressed as a potential ethical question also. Differences and objectivity in the research techniques, results, expectations and analysis have tried to be mediated to exclude elements of subjective bias from the researcher. Parker (2004) discusses these notions of objectivity and preconceptions. Parker (2004:55) discusses that sometimes "objectivity is a view that requires that the subjectivity of the researcher is made absolutely blank", but he also argues that "you can pretend to be blank and empty, but that pretense will just stop you from making use of what you know" (2004:57). This researcher agrees with Parker to some extent with his ideas of maximising local knowledge, but a thorough self - risk

assessment has been suggested by the ESRC (2010:37) before field research to minimise “potential situations of physical, emotional or situational harm” for the researcher.

The methodologies or format of the project did not change in any ways during the research that affected data collection in the communities of interest or with the targeted informants. As such there was no need to re-address the ethics within the study. This study has been an independently researched project, approved by Edge Hill University Ethics Committee, by one principle investigator (Kevin Burke) and there has been no collaboration, affiliation or commitment with any other individual or organisation. No costs to other individuals or organisations have been incurred.

3.4 Research Strategy and design

3.4.1 Core research questions – how do they fit in the just city concept?

Punch (1994) thinks of research design as “all the issues involved in planning and executing a research project – from identifying the problem through to publishing the results”. This is an approach also adopted by Ackoff (1953) and Miller and Salkind (2002). Therefore, detailed in this chapter is discussion as to how the core research questions fit with the just city and co-operative city concepts and what appropriate methods were required to investigate the questions.

The core research questions were designed to look at different specific phenomenon (described below) but also to allow exploration of notions of democracy, equity, diversity and other potential justice criteria detailed in the literature review chapter. The methodologies and methods chosen were reflective of the need to interrogate participant’s views and perceptions of the world i.e. obtaining qualitative data. Interviews were deemed as the best way in which to do this. The research questions are listed below with a brief overview of the connection to examining economic growth and social justice to help explain these choices: -

- i) What are the processes and relationships employed in urban renewal in cities and in particular Manchester and Salford?

Designed to ascertain whether the city-region of Greater Manchester has the potential to be just and discover an understanding of the way in which different people and organisations work

with each other across the region. The idea of justice, examined in chapter two, is quite evidently one which is based on effective collaboration and good relational working practice. This question looked to discover how strong these relationships are and how the processes they are involved in are put together. Evidence presented from this question in chapter four has found strong, weak and stable relationships in the city-region through formal and informal frameworks in delivering urban renewal.

ii) How are they managed and who is involved?

This question examined the idea of relationships on various levels within the city-region and across different sectors. As question one unpicks the processes and relationship element of the research this question seeks to uncover more regarding the ideologies, agendas and roles of different stakeholders involved, not just in a management position. Fundamentally the question wanted to uncover who the key decision makers are, what influences them and how more people have taken/could take an active role in enhancing relationships and collaborative working. Some shared and different understandings of management and leadership are discovered through this question during the research.

iii) What are the resultant outcomes and contributing factors?

The social, political and economic landscapes are investigated through this question to find out how the quality and quantity of processes, relationships and stakeholder involvement (discovered in questions 1 and 2) have been successful or unsuccessful. The question also provides an opportunity to examine what internal and external influences have impacted upon people and processes involved in urban renewal in Greater Manchester. This is where some of the contribution to knowledge is highlighted later in the thesis – the emergence of co-operative working as an element/additional criterion (to those of Fainstein's) for achieving social justice within periods of recession and austerity.

3.4.2 A qualitative approach

Before this section discusses the practical application of the methods chosen it should be explained that a great deal of preparation preceded the fieldwork investigations. Despite having a familiarity with the research sites, the researcher spent time examining, for example new and old maps, historical photos and secondary sources of information that charted the historical journey of both the two wards and Greater Manchester. The time spent doing this added to the

researcher's levels of understanding and knowledge about the relevant issues being addressed and provided a clearer picture of the communities being researched.

In this thesis, the researcher has drawn upon mainly qualitative data from interviews, observations and participant observations, or as Wolcott (1992) terms it "watching, asking and examining." To meet the demands of the proposed core research questions a mainly qualitative approach was taken in the data collection process for the research. Punch (2005:10) states that "qualitative investigations can be a very robust and important method to be used when there is vague or incomplete information given about a particular community." This method of investigation was chosen as it can sometimes be used as an instrument to measure how individuals, groups and organisations relate to each other – the point here being that the investigator aimed to understand the participants' perspective of different phenomenon in urban renewal processes.

The qualitative research here can be viewed as a type of social inquiry that sought to understand how people view and interpret the world in which they live. Atkinson et al, (2001) discusses how this can be looked at through relationships, work or location for example. Atkinson et al also discuss that qualitative research is done through various techniques which are all designed to understand people or places with space and time. Bauman, (2001:21) points out that, "communities continually experience social changes and by using a qualitative approach as a tool of investigation this in turn allows the investigator to examine these changes and how these changes can affect social relations in a group". The tools for investigation, or methods, according to Mills (1959) should not be viewed as a codification of procedures, but rather as actual ways of working.

By relying upon an approach that is predominately qualitative this work attempted to understand the meaning of justice, and how it is applied and/or experienced. Bryman (2001:8) acknowledges that, "the advantage of using this method of data collection is that when attempting to understand a particular community or event, that most of the time the variables are not predetermined by the investigator but produced from the qualitative data". As defined by Henn et al (2006:186) "Qualitative data can be found all around us - In the newspapers we read, the television broadcasts we view, memos received at work, or the text messages we exchange via mobile phones, we come across a wealth of qualitative data every day". However, this qualitative researcher has also sought to generate independent primary data which is gathered in the field. The two main methods chosen are semi-structured interviews and

observations which will enable this researcher to gather worthwhile empirical data pertinent to the work.

The flexibility of qualitative methods, according to Gribiche (2007) has provided this researcher with a position from which to gather data. This data obtained in the field has been easier to gain clarification on, in the case of interviews, to gain further, richer information. Cresswell (2009) also contends that by using qualitative methods the participant and researcher relationship can be more straight forward and less formal than other methods that may be used. The quantitative research tool is vital when trying to discover the underlying social relationship patterns. Quantitative data has been the primary empirical source of information for this research investigation of different social, political and economic phenomenon.

As stated, primary data collection has mainly been from semi-structured interviews and participant observations in the city region, in particular the two sites of Cheetham and Broughton. This section will look further at this type of data collection before discussing the other sources, any other methods used and how the data will be presented later in the thesis in chapter four. Miles, Huberman and Salada (2013) state that behind the simplicity (on the face of it), of this type of data there is a large amount of complexity that requires self-awareness and care from the researcher. Part of this self-awareness is a recognition of the views of Bruyn (1966:14) who states, “The role of the participant observer requires detachment and personal involvement.”

Fieldwork normally requires data collection to be done by more than one method or technique as no single method can be fully relied upon. By using a combination of document analysis, interviewing and observations, the research has been able to attribute credibility and reliability to the findings. Marshall and Rossman (1989:79-111) state that “each type of source of data has strengths and weaknesses and that by using triangulation this increases validity as the strengths of one approach could compensate for the weaknesses of another approach”. Tasakkori and Teddlie (1998) argue that this mixed methods triangulation approach to fieldwork is based on pragmatism. Gillham (2000:7) agrees with Marshall and Rossman because for Gillham “no one kind of source of evidence is likely to be sufficient, or sufficiently valid on its own.”

In attempting to answer the core research questions this research has incorporated interviews with a range of stakeholders at various levels. From the public sector these have included, for

example, council members and leaders, parliamentary candidates, assistant mayors and officers at regional and ward level. From the private sectors, participation has included regional directors of housing development companies, SMEs and local businesses. From the third sector, there has been contribution from leaders and members of not-for-profit organisations, independent think tanks, local trusts, faith and cultural groups. Some perceptions have also been obtained from residents in the communities of interest. These communities of interest will be examined later in section 3.4.6. Table 1 (below) provides an indication of the scale, level and type of primary interviews that have been conducted within the research. Examples of the types of questions for some of the interviewees have been listed in appendixes 4-9 at the back of this thesis.

Table 1 Interview summary table

	Public Sector	Private Sector	Voluntary and Community Sector
Local Level	*Manchester Council Ward Co- ordinator. *Salford Ward Councillor *Public Sector Manager and worker *Youth Worker 4	*SME Business owner in Broughton and Cheetham *Private Housing Developer – senior management 2	*Resident Group in Cheetham and Broughton *Faith Group in Cheetham *Local Trust and Community Group in Cheetham and Broughton 3
	*Manchester City Council– senior management *Salford – mayoral office representative *Prospective Parliamentary candidate * Manchester and Salford Council – workers and managers involved in regeneration x 3 *Council Officers	* Planning consultant * Lawyer involved in regeneration initiatives. * Representative within the banking sector	*Think Tank Organisation *Community and Voluntary Support Organisation

	* Youth Council organisation 6	3	2
Regional Level	* Council representatives involved North West development projects 1	*Private Housing Developer 1	* Voluntary Sector Organisation 1

Primary data collection, as discussed, has mainly been derived from the use of semi-structured interviews and there have been twenty-three interviews conducted. However other research techniques have been employed mostly in the form of data capturing with a field note book through participant observations during regular research site visits. The use and effectiveness of the field note book use will be discussed in section 3.5.4.

Whilst more detail on the communities of interest and the specific targeted informants is detailed later it is important to note that whilst focusing quite heavily on semi-structured interviews other sources of information were used to gather data. Secondary data sources have been used in this qualitative research and this use of previously-published information for analysis has helped in attempting to generate new insights into the research topic such as national and local policy arrangements, debates on social justice, co-operative working and devolution. This research therefore has used a combination of primary and secondary data. Such secondary data for example included historical archives, newspapers, books, journals, television, radio, company records, and policy and framework documents along with census data. This secondary data analysis has therefore involved gathering information from existing documents without having to interview people or observe individual and group activity/behaviour through participant observations.

It has been essential to examine the secondary information in terms of quality, credibility and reliability of the data collected when deciding if to use it. Some of the factors in doing this have included analysing the completeness and accuracy of the information collected. This has depended on the purpose for which the information was collected in the first place i.e. the core research questions. It was generally viewed by the researcher that the reasons the information was gathered was the same as the intentions of the research and was of a standard that could be utilised in this work.

3.4.3 Using case studies and the communities of interest

The spatial and temporal setting for fieldwork required some extensive consideration. The period of analysis, incorporating a full term of a new form of government, and a period of recession and austerity has had a major impact on the methodological choices, original contribution to knowledge and title for this project. Coupled with this were considerations of where the research should take place. Early in the project it was considered as to which global city the research could apply Fainstein's notions, but it was decided to use Fainstein's criteria for justice in global cities as a way in to exploring one with a different scale and structure – the globally connected Manchester city-region. Toyne and Newby (1971:102) debate that “location, by definition, is always relative and it is simply because of this that it is possible to find pattern and order in the location of human and economic activity”. This research sought to investigate both human and economic activity in this city region. This allowed the research to use Manchester and some of its communities in this city-region as a base to conduct the research and attempt to provide part of the original contribution to knowledge.

It has been difficult however not to completely book end this research in the period of 2010 – 2015 as previous historic phenomenon and current occurrences such as the devolution of Greater Manchester (announced in Nov 2014 and reflected upon in chapter 5) can, and will, bring to bear a considerable influence on the nature of what has been looked at in this period. Within this period two of the most deprived and demographically different areas in the city of Greater Manchester, currently undergoing different regeneration schemes were identified as the communities of interest. The wards of Cheetham and Broughton to the north of the city have served as the communities of interest. A review of them has been provided in chapter four (the cases) within the narrative which presents the findings in the same chapter.

These two locations have been subject to, or are undergoing, a mix of private and public investment-led regeneration initiatives which are governed by two different local authority councils. These locations have provided a local and regional, cross council and cross sector examination and analysis to consider the extent of economic growth and social justice agendas and policy in areas of need. These case studies have been used to explain the broader policy and theoretical questions being addressed in the case studies.

3.4.4 Using a ‘Case Study’ approach

The first foundation of these case studies has been to determine the subject and relevance of using case studies as a way of doing empirical research. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2013) define a case as a phenomenon occurring in a bounded context and that the case may be an individual, a role, a small group, an organisation, a community or nation. They argue that it could also be a decision, a policy, a process or incident. In the case of this research the cases are about processes of urban renewal in specific communities in the Manchester city-region. In these case studies the researcher is deliberately trying to isolate a particular population to look at a particular issue. For example, statistical analysis has shown that some communities in the Manchester city-region suffer from social and economic inequalities leading to growing debates about social justice. A case study on one or two specific wards becomes a powerful and focused tool for determining the social and economic pressures driving this. Whilst the research has a specific purpose and core research questions, the objective of using the case study method has been to develop as full an understanding of each case as possible. Yin (2013) argues that the case study is an empirical enquiry that examines a contemporary situation with a real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

The case study therefore aims to provide an understanding of each case in depth in its natural setting whilst recognising its context and complexity. Goode and Hart (1952:331) discuss case studies as being more of a strategy than a method by stating “The case study is not a specific technique, it is a way of organising social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied”. In the design of these case studies, it has been important to plan and design how the work was going to address the study and make sure that all collected data was relevant. More specifically the type of case studies conducted have been ‘collective’ case studies. Stake (1994) describes this type of approach as being an extension of an instrumental case study to cover several cases, to learn more about the phenomenon, population, or general condition.

The most important part has been to ensure the study was focused and concise to minimise the amount of irrelevant information collected. It was decided that the three core research questions to be addressed in the research would ensure that what was collected in terms of data would be able to refer to these questions. Within these case studies it has been important to be passive in the research and that an observational stance, rather than an experimental stance, has been taken

to ensure that each case needed to be treated individually to draw up some cross-case conclusions.

3.4.5 The arguments for and against the ‘case study’ research approach.

It could be argued that using a case study only provides answers to such a narrow field of research and that the subsequent results cannot be used to answer an entire question as it would only show one narrow example. It is argued here, on the other hand, that the use of Cheetham and Broughton as case studies provides realistic and contemporary responses to help address the core research questions. This work has used two case studies to provide a narrowed focus of how urban renewal processes can contribute to a just Manchester city-region. The depth of each case study allows the work to be specific regarding wards in two of the ten Greater Manchester Combined Authorities, across two cities (Manchester and Salford) and has been deemed sufficient in providing credible results and discussion that are enough to substantiate the claims of originality in the contribution to knowledge.

The case study approach has incorporated semi-structured interviews, the use of secondary data and observational walks to add a richness to each case study. It is acknowledged here though that these case studies cannot be used to generalise or fit a different situation in its entirety and this work has been careful to safeguard this social justice debate within the context of the city, and specifically the Manchester city-region. This does not mean to say that the ideas generated here cannot be adapted to examine other cities of differing scales and structures much in the same way this work has adapted Fainstein’s notion of the just city, in which she examines global cities.

This concern and potential criticisms over generalisability can be addressed by thinking about whether it is possible to use one or two cases to be able to generalise and whether we would want to or not. Generalisation has not been the objective of this research as it is felt that these cases are important, given the current economic, social and political changes that the Manchester city-region is currently experiencing. They are also unique in some very important respects such as the cases being two cross constituency wards situation in two different cities within the currently being devolved Manchester city-region.

Given this position it is however also considered that there may be other potential case studies where something more broadly applicable may want to be examined. For example, if this researcher were to consider other post-industrial cities currently involved in the processes of devolution in their own city regions. There are potentially two different ways that the potentially generalisable results from the case studies examined in this work could assist. The first, as described by Punch (2014:123) is “by conceptualizing and the second is by developing propositions”. In these instances, the findings from the case studies could be put forward as being potentially applicable to other cases. The point being made here is that the contribution to knowledge in this work, for example, surrounding co-operative working as a way to better understand, promote and realise how social justice could be achieved in other cities and could be applicable to other situations and cases. It would also have the potential for putting forward concepts such as co-operative working for testing in further research. Punch (2014:123) in some way agrees with this as he states “Clearly, every case that can be studied is unique. But, every case is also, in some respects, similar to other cases. The question is whether we want to focus on what is unique about a particular case or what is common with other cases”.

This case study approach has facilitated a flexibility as the case studies here introduce new and unexpected results during its course and has led the research to take new directions. It is hoped that these case studies have made the topics more interesting and that these well-placed case studies have had a strong impact.

3.4.6 Selecting the Communities of Interest

In attempting to unpack notions of the just city these two research sites provided a platform for this study to examine and evaluate certain criteria, specified earlier, from Fainstein’s theoretical framework on a local and regional scale within Greater Manchester. The qualitative data obtained, in line with the mechanisms of diversity, equity and democracy and the core research questions, have been extracted from pre-determined communities of interest in the two research locations. These communities of interest provided primary data through an examination of social practices (non-governmental organisations, community groups/activists, council organisations, public investors, not for profit and voluntary organisations) and entrepreneurial activity (planners, developers, investors and private businesses).

The decision to target key informants in lead agencies and within the local communities was shaped, to some extent, by the criteria set out by Fainstein who attributes the analysis of implemented policy and resultant outcomes as the best way to examine if a city is just. Some of the challenges surrounding these communities of interest and targeted informants will be addressed below.

Whilst compiling this list and protecting the names of those who contributed (targeted informants) through interviews within this thesis, certain challenges have arisen. It has been important for the work to illustrate the level of decision-making powers or influence that certain interviewees possess to add credence to the high quality of the data obtained. Therefore, provision was made by the researcher in fulfilling the ethical responsibility of anonymity towards the participants. The issue of anonymity has been difficult to achieve at times when, for example, certain information relayed could easily be attributed to one of the limited number of people in a particular organisation, sector, or level of government as only certain people would have access to that information. Confidentiality, according to Hammersley and Traianou (2012:121) respects the right for participants' privacy and that the idea functions as a precautionary principle and was adhered to here, although this has been quite challenging. Research interactions in this thesis in the form of questionnaires have been based on the respondents' choice to disclose sometimes sensitive information to the researcher. As a result, the subsequent information provided in this thesis has been presented in a way in which to allude to the importance and level of the contribution but also to conceal the identity of the individual. More detail on the presentation of interview data and direct citations is addressed in section 3.6 in this chapter.

There were also certain difficulties regarding engaging persons of interest from the different layers of the city and the specific communities of interest. The initial targeted informants in early stage scoping exercises were difficult to contact. With success rates in terms of responses quite low a more measured approach in the content and format of prospecting emails sent to potential participants began to yield results. This was a continual process designed around the content and subject line of the email which was designed to spark an interest amongst the numerous emails the targets presumably receive on a daily basis. On reflection, expectations were quite unreasonably high initially as to the numbers of preliminary contacts that it was thought could be obtained. Surprised at the lack of response the researchers reasoning

concluded that this was due to how busy people are, what the researcher request means to them in the context of pressures at work, the organisation was no longer in business, the person no longer worked there and elements of skepticism. Later in the fieldwork more reasons were added including the nature of how busy people in public office were preparing for the election in May 2015.

Regarding organisations that were no longer in existence and the large volume of organisations listed in various community directories the impacts of recession and austerity became apparent. Upon further investigation by attempted telephone contact it became apparent that many targeted informants on the speculative contact list were no longer operating particularly in the community and voluntary sector. On reflection, it may have been a little naive to expect that 1) there were many organisations still in existence and 2) that stakeholders would jump at the chance to contribute to what was being researched.

By improving the process of evolving the contact list and improving networking skills there was a reasonable increase in the numbers, types and richness of interviews that were eventually generated after these initial challenges. The research also benefitted from several referrals from individuals who participated throughout the project which helped improve the level of participation and data gathered to provide the empirical depth needed to answer the research questions. At various stages of the data gathering process these issues were discussed and examined upon with my director of studies as part of the researcher's reflective learning and project development.

3.4.7 Targeted Informants

When thinking about the individual targeted informants in the chosen communities of interest two questions were posed: 'Why these communities of interest and particular representatives and how do they fit with researching justice and fairness?' The qualitative data that was hoped for, in line with the mechanisms of diversity, equity and democracy and the core research questions, needed to be extracted from pre-determined communities of interest in the two research locations and within the city itself. Key informants are particularly knowledgeable about the area being researched and are also articulate in their knowledge in helping the interviewer understand what their views are and why they hold them. These informants were

identified in several ways including researching organisational staff structures, recommendations and referrals from and within different layers of the city region. Pelto and Pelto (1978) make the point that to maximise the opportunity of obtaining relevant information it is important that contributors fully understand the nature and focus of the research, the issues underpinning the research and that questions that will be asked to obtain the valuable information. This was enabled in this research by releasing a project information sheet, consent form (see appendix 1 and appendix 2), and the pre-determined questions (for examples see appendices 4 – 9) to be used, at least one week prior to the interviews. This was then also accompanied by providing a brief overview at the start of the interviews to ensure that interviewees were well informed about their and the interviewers role and the types of questions that were asked.

In terms of gaining access to the targeted informants, Loftland et al (2004) state that the ways of access depend on the research project, its setting and context. They also consider the “ways in which the researcher contacts respondents, and organises access, can affect all stages of the interviewer-interviewee relationship, and with that the quality, reliability and validity of the data”. Once the individual was contacted and positive introductory exchange had been made, each person was sent further information regarding the nature and intentions of the thesis. This was accompanied by information on the expected level of contribution, questions proposed to be asked along with how any information that was provided would be data protected and anonymised. The questions were also sent in advance to alleviate any potential nervousness or concern the interviewee may have about what was to be asked of them and provide an opportunity for them to decide if there were any questions they did not want to answer.

To contextualise the difficulties in meeting the high levels of expectancy from the research, table below (table 2) shows the numbers of contributors expected in the preliminary stages of speculative contact to the numbers of those who contributed. Whilst there is a reasonable discrepancy between the two sets of figures it is felt by this researcher that the quality of the interviews and credibility of those contributions (the level at which these decision makers operate) was sufficient to make an analysis of the research questions.

	Cheetham	Broughton
Number of anticipated interviews	20	20
Actual number of interviews	12	11

Table 2 Anticipated and actual number of interview participants.

The table on page 64 provided an illustration of the organisations where the interviewees were located and the table above (Table 2) shows the number of interviews conducted. As mentioned previously in the ontological discussion in this chapter there was an obvious inequality in terms of the gender of the interview contributors. Out of the 23 interviews, 20 were male and only three were female. This is interesting as the initial scoping exercise by this researcher in targeting potential contributors focused on seeking positions without any prior knowledge of who held those positions thus eliminating potential gender bias on the researcher's part. The three females held positions in the voluntary and community sector and there were none from the public or private sector. Even in this small sample there is clear indication that most of the power in politics is male orientated.

3.5 Methods and techniques for data collection

3.5.1 Systematic reading and the literature reviews

How does the just city concept fit within this research and how can it be investigated? This is the second fundamental point made at the beginning of this chapter that underpins some of the choices in this work. Reviewing literature around the initial topic of interest was the initial starting point for the whole of this research idea and without the wider reading the study would not have been able to effectively take place. Hart (1994:14) states that there are elements that can guide a literature review and it includes questions regarding the key theoretical and philosophical sources which scholars have drawn upon in the subject, the key issues and debates around the topic, the key concepts, theories and ideas and how knowledge on the

subject is organised and structured. Rudestam and Newton (2000:59) describe that a literature review should “build an argument, not a library”.

Systematic reviews have been described by Gough et al (2012:5) as a “form of research that identifies, describes, appraises and synthesizes the available research literature using systematic and explicit accountable methods”. Reading has helped contextualise an historic understanding of previous programmes of urban renewal and academic thought surrounding justice, diversity, democracy and equity – these are the criteria for a just city put forward by Fainstein (2010) and that were used as an exploratory ‘way in’ to research notions of justice and the ‘urban’. This exploration, coupled with a current knowledge of urban phenomenon and the role people must play in society, helped add a depth in understanding for the researcher to make informed choices. This wider reading was then extended to literature about the co-operative city that would become emergent further throughout the research process.

Whilst challenging at times this level of reading has helped the researcher develop personally and professionally. Some of the reading did not however provide satisfactory answers all the time. The systematic reading process also helped the writing style of the researcher in communicating and articulating what can be quite complex and diverse issues. As part of the literature review process the researcher was encouraged to read salient texts regularly and follow this up with an interpretative summary piece of work. In doing so, this way of capturing understanding has been invaluable in being able to call upon some of these texts in the thesis at later points in time, particularly when writing the review of literature for chapter two.

3.5.2 Semi-structured interviews and interviewing representative ‘elites’ and key decision makers.

Jones (1985:46) states that “the interview is one of the most powerful ways of understanding others and that “to understand other persons’ constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them....and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings”. It was deemed in the research design, from a qualitative context, that the most flexible methods for obtaining information about people’s interpretations and feelings about phenomenon was to be the

interview. Interviews were chosen as a method of investigation as this type of intensive research consists of trying to determine the processes and conditions that underlie the production of certain events by studying individuals in their contexts. Cloke et al (1992) describes how this is best done by using qualitative methodologies such as interactive interviews.

This research used the method of interviews as they can be viewed as a relatively controlled way in which to converse with stakeholders who held information that was required. What has been evident from the interviews is that sometimes it is not all about merely attributing the detail of what the participants say but how they say it. Parameswaran (2001) adds to this point by stating she attempts to read non-verbal clues to tell how interviewees react to her subject matter. She also discusses that she does this to pick up on hostility, disapproval, support or openness. There has been a lot written regarding the several types of interviews, for example, Patton (2002) debates that interviews come in three forms, firstly the open-ended interview, secondly a general interview and thirdly an interview of a conversational informal type. The first of these methods fits within the social constructionist methodology chosen within this research and is reflected in the views of Fontana and Frey (1994) who write that the method of interview chosen should be considered in terms of the strategy, purpose and research questions.

Ethical considerations and choices for this research therefore lay partially in the type of methodologies chosen for this qualitative social research. The methodology employed in this socio-economic analysis mainly consisted of a series of semi structured interviews with selected key informants in the two chosen locations. This was done to understand whether the concept of the just city could be applied to the Manchester city-region and to examine the emergence of evidence of a co-operative city. The methodology for the project was partly influenced by the ideas of Castells (2003:24) “To understand cities and to unveil their connection to social change it is necessary to determine the mechanisms through which spatial structures are transformed and urban meaning is redefined”.

To try and understand certain social elements of the city pertinent to this work the thoughts of Parker (1992) are considered. Parker suggests, as does this researcher, that in terms of appropriate methodologies for this type of social study “semi-structured interviewing in social studies is the preferred method of data collection for research” (Parker, 1992:124). This semi-

structured and foregrounded approach to interviewing is favoured by Parker as he agrees with Bell and Roberts (1984) by debating that “interview research provides an opportunity to question the separation between individuals and contexts and to ground accounts of experience in social relations” (Parker, 2004:54). Given the nature of the examination of organisational processes and outcomes in this study Parker provides further reason to use this type of interview as he argues that “an interview in qualitative research is always semi structured because it invariably carries the traces of patterns of power that hold things in place and it reveals an interviewee’s creative abilities to refuse and resist what a researcher wants to happen” (2004:54).

Although the interviews have been useful for extracting data, preparation for the interviews prior to them being conducted was essential. Before starting the interviews, the researcher attempted to be clear about what areas were to be explored and be satisfied that the interview method chosen was the best format in which to discover relevant data. It was deemed that interviews were going to be the most useful way in which to uncover someone’s views and why they have that view particularly when the data could have the potential to be sensitive. Whilst extremely rewarding some of these interviews were very time-consuming in terms of preparation, transcribing and analysis, and so there was much deliberation which was to be given in identifying ‘informants’ who had the information that was needed to address the research questions.

The level of structure in the interviews in this research, as suggested, followed a semi-structured format. Fielding (1996) states that these types of interviews require that the interviewer conducts the interview via a set of predetermined questions that may be of an open-ended nature, but these have been also been considered when using a diplomatic approach where the interviewer has taken a neutral stance. The semi-structured interview was derived by developing a range of topics or questions that were sent in advance to the informant that could be discussed, debated or answered in the meetings that were arranged. This meant that the interviewer developed a guide to the topics that were to be explored in the conversation, and this culminated in the provision of specific questions that were going to be asked. Although the (PSI) project information sheet, consent form and data storage statement were sent by email in advance of the meetings the researcher took hard copies to provide to the interviewee as a contingency. As it was deemed that some of the interviewees may not have had time to review

the documents, as experienced in one early interview, the researcher provided hard copies (signed on the day) for the participants. Coupled with the provision of these documents, was a verbal explanation again of the intention of the research and the level of their contribution and permission was then sought again from the participant that they were happy to continue. All contributors were asked at this stage if the interview could be recorded. Challenges surrounding audio recordings and interviews where no recording was possible are discussed later in this section. Part of the process of choosing different methods was in the provision and layout of map of the structure of the task in hand to help aid the researcher to visualise the bigger picture. Figure 3 below is a research strategy flowchart compiled by the author at the beginning of the project.

The interviews themselves have thrown up several specific challenges and provide some illustration as to why the methodological reasoning supports the methods used in the research. Regarding the format of interviews a few issues were uncovered in reflection that hindered some of the early interviews, but these were improved upon with experience. These format issues have been in the form of timing, listening, controlling the parameters of the interview and appreciating the roles of the interviewees. In hindsight, originally there was insufficient time planning to compensate for time writing transcripts of audio recordings of interviews would take. A one-hour interview has taken approximately six hours to transcribe. This had a massive impact and was reflected on my time management in the initial stages of the fieldwork. This required some adjustment and coping mechanisms to be put in place so as not to impact negatively upon the work going forward.

There were also some technical difficulties experienced, particularly in one instance. Upon listening to the voice recording on the way home (as was this researcher's normal practice) from an interview with a representative of a regional CVS organisation it became clear that the recording had stopped three quarters through an hour-long interview due to insufficient data storage space. Whilst disappointed to have incomplete data it provided a valuable lesson that some form of note taking should accompany recordings when capturing interview data and all devices should be checked for battery life and storage capacity. This was done for all future interviews. Once conducted, all future voice files were downloaded instantly from the secure recording device into a secure location to free up space on the device being used and avoid storage issues in future.

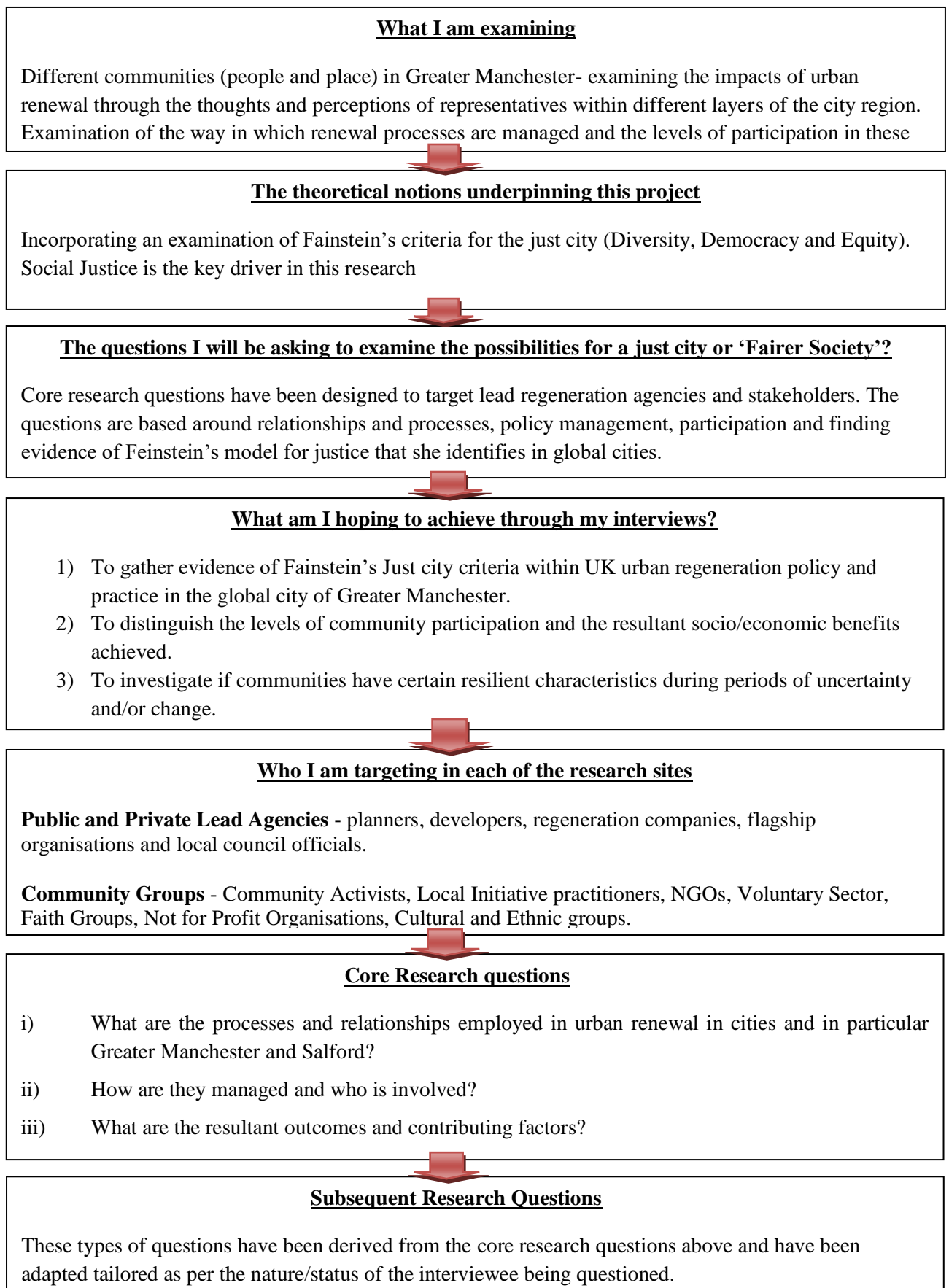


Figure 3. Research Strategy Flowchart

In another instance, the responses of the interviewee were very quiet and, in some places, (upon playback) were incoherent. This was due to where the recording device was placed, as at the interview there were two respondents who sat quite far apart from each other, so the device had to be strategically placed to pick up what each was saying. Despite testing this device as part of the preparation more unusable data was captured, so the researcher replaced the device with another that had a more effective built in microphone that would pick up quieter responses and from those not sat directly in front of it. This solution worked as the interviews conducted after this were all perfectly coherent and clear and able to be transcribed relatively efficiently.

During the interviews, there were sometimes opportunities to allow the conversation to take different directions. However, this posed certain challenges when trying to keep the interview within the permitted time scales and ensuring all questions were answered. Whilst questions provided prior to the interview provided a structure to keep within the permitted timescales it was decided on some occasions to let the interview temporarily take its own course. This is when some rich data became available because of the passion and enthusiasm provided when a certain issue or question seemed to ignite something in the interviewee. This was extremely important in examining the sincerity or conviction of the responses being provided. These types of interviews have been a useful tool for gaining detailed authentic information as care was taken to ensure research questions and follow up questions were open-ended to allow a range of range of possible answers.

Upon meeting the participants, it was evident that some had read the questions before the interview and others not. The researcher thought this interesting because upon reflection some of the answers provided in instances where the subject said they had not read the questions answers were provided in a less formal and unprescribed manner. Consideration was taken however upon the fact that some of the interviewees in their role and responsibility have a more polished and media-trained approach to being asked questions and answering them. However, many of the questions were used as a platform for the interviews but the format of the semi-structured interview did allow exploration of interesting areas in more detail without the constraints of a fully rigid structure.

As has been discussed, a substantial proportion of the qualitative data has been obtained from one-off, semi-structured interviews, which did not require much participant time –

approximately one hour in most cases. Difficulties were experienced though in terms of keeping the interview within the time parameters agreed with each interviewee. Despite the intention of allocating time per question, some questions received a longer response whilst some responses were sometimes quite short. Interestingly though some of these interviews have lasted more than one hour, particularly once the recording was turned off. It has been at this stage where, with one of the interviewees, the conversation ended up lasting two and a half hours. During the time after the recording went off the respondent acknowledged he felt more comfortable and less nervy with us speaking more informally and freely. At the end of the recorded part of the interview no more notes were made to engage further in the conversation. Permission to take some more notes could have been asked but having gauged the situation the decision was taken not to as a matter of respect and trust. It should be noted that information that was relinquished by interviewees after the recording was stopped and the interview brought to an official close has not been used in this work.

Apart from richness of the official primary data collected through the interviews during the ‘recorded’ part of the process there has emerged a very interesting point for reflection. On more than one occasion some of the interviewees were keen to continue conversation after the allotted time and it quickly became apparent that there was a different tone of expression and thoughts to that of the information that was provided to my pre-prepared questions. On some occasions this ‘off the record’ dialogue differed from the ‘on the record’ interview responses. It is not ethically appropriate to provide the detail of these exchanges but some discussion on the underlying issues of power and politics that are evident here is.

When thinking about this there are some considerations around roles and responsibilities. Without giving the impression that there was an excessive element of rhetoric to some of the responses it soon became clear in some of the ‘off the record’ responses that there was an element of ‘this is what I really want to say’. This was extremely challenging in terms of how to make sense of the data that was recorded as it cast some doubts over how genuine some of the responses were and how authentic some of the thoughts and perceptions of some of the ‘powerful’ decision makers were. This was encountered particularly with council representatives within both Manchester and Salford and was mainly relatable to the discussions around the causes and impacts of austerity and recession. Perhaps this was a problem that would have only been encountered from senior decision-making posts most of the respondents held.

It would be interesting to see how the conversations changed between ‘on the record’ and ‘off the record’ with respondents who held less power. Responses from workers and decision makers in the community and voluntary sector organisations during the recorded part of the interview did not really differ from the responses they made after the interview recording was stopped. Thus, indicating that there was not as much political fear or issues of power at play perhaps due to the passionate nature and requirements of some of the respondent’s roles. To be successful in some of these roles a continued genuine, and authentic approach requires them to not engage with internal politics in their quest to achieve justice for communities.

Most of the interviews were held on a face-to-face basis with the conditions and permissions allowing the conversation to be digitally recorded. There are important advantages to recording interviews as explained by Siedman (2013) but the cooperation and approval of the respondent is required in the first instance. Minichiello et al (1990) state that if electronic recording is to be used then the researcher must be adept at working the equipment and be able to transcribe the data later.

There were three interviews that did not follow the predetermined semi-structured format and pre-proposed questions and these interviews provided some interesting challenges. Firstly, a local council official requested to meet in a high street eatery. This location was subject to a lot of noise and the researcher’s concentration levels were affected. It was a community environment however in which to meet a politician, as a few constituents/residents recognised him and engaged freely in conversation whilst we were talking. This is not a criticism it was just not conducive to the researcher’s needs at that time, but a lot was taken from the interaction of this individual with the environment/community in which he worked/served.

The noisy environment for this interview was not conducive to recording the conversation and when asked if it were possible and permissible to record the interview he stated that it may not be viable. I took this as a non-permission as well as being a logistical issue confirmed by the participant. Punch (2014) confirms this decision by saying “various possibilities (recording) need to be assessed in relation to the practical constraints of the situation and the cooperation and approval of the respondent”. As the interviews conducted prior to this had aligned themselves with the format of which the researcher was ‘used to’ this situation then posed difficulties in capturing the verbal information in the form of note taking whilst being attentive

and listening to the interviewee. When reflecting upon the notes after the interview it was clear that the information captured was not as clear and coherent as it could have been due to the quality of note taking skills used. Whilst the information obtained was clear there was less opportunity to directly cite parts of the conversation as not all words were captured. On reflection the participant could have been asked to repeat or to clarify what they had just said. Perhaps nervousness on the researcher's part played a role in this along with a consciousness of the timeframes in play and the number of questions that needed to be asked.

Secondly a telephone interview with a worker in the CVS provided a similar challenge. This interview was restricted to 15 minutes and the interviewer found this particularly difficult as it was realised that there was not enough time to ask all the proposed questions. Therefore, consideration was given to the priority of some questions over another. This format of interview was also a little problematic as there was no way in which the researcher could attempt to capture the nonverbal elements of a face to face interview. This was quite a different form of interview in which the researcher again felt as though a true or authentic picture/response was unable to be examined. However due to the time frame involved the researcher found the information provided was quite clear and focused. Considering the previous problem of note taking with a participant where recording was not an option, some coping mechanisms had been put in place to deal with this eventuality. The researcher had been trying to evolve effective note taking skills by practicing with colleagues and family members.

The third non-face-to-face interview that highlighted some interesting challenges was an email interview with a public sector worker in Salford. This participant was most comfortable conversing by email, but the same procedure was followed in terms of provision of supporting informational documents and asking permissions. During this process, the interviewee asked for some clarity on one of the questions, which was happily provided, but despite providing clear answers to the question this was a challenge to the research as the capacity for an effective and short two-way conversation was limited due to the nature of email communications. Again, as with the two previous instances mentioned the researcher found it difficult to add any extra added value to the answers provided due to the non-existence of personal contact and the lack of potential to steer and direct the conversation at salient points. This type of interview was however beneficial in terms of quoting and transcribing as all the first-hand answers provided were in a text format.

The chosen interview method was initially viewed as a formal personal interaction where there would be opportunity to use inter-personal skills to attempt to build some sort of rapport with the interviewee in the brief time. Where possible the first few minutes at the start of the interview were used as a bit of an icebreaker. There was however, upon reflection, and more so in the early interviews, times when the researcher was talking a little too much. This has been attributed to a need to express knowledge around the subject matter to give the interviewee confidence but also through issues of nervousness and apprehension about the credibility of the researcher to be engaging in such an interview. More listening was implemented as the interviews progressed along with using the ability to pause and keep focused upon what the 'interview' was supposed to achieve – gaining the opinions of the interviewee and not the researcher.

In this type of research, essentially with the semi-structured interview format, an essential element was the way in which the questions were delivered. The way in which questions were asked was designed to eradicate any subconscious attempt to lead to bias. This was particularly challenging as it was difficult not to consciously or subconsciously impose this research's view of the world or opinion toward the informant/interviewee. To reduce this risk and gain some confidence with using different interview techniques the researcher piloted some questions with mock interviewees with persons who were familiar (A Town Planner and a Property Lawyer).

These pilot interviews were designed to follow an open-ended question format. Attempts were also made to use techniques of reflection and other confirming techniques to ensure that the meaning to responses given were clear to the researcher and as an aid to provoke more responses. Caution was taken in probing without bias-orientated questions and explanatory probes, if the interviewee had wandered off subject questions would be included such as "What did you mean by that?" and "What makes you say that? These questioning techniques were useful for exploring meaning further.

As more interviews were conducted the researcher could refine some of the techniques used when deemed appropriate depending upon the rapport and relationship built with the interviewee in the initial stages of the interview. A laddering method was, therefore, a very specific interviewing technique which was used and asked questions starting with 'why?'

Questions of this type were used to examine the informant's motivations and reasoning for holding certain views. Laddering techniques were also used in the opposite direction, where the researcher got more specific until examples were reached. This was done by asking questions such as 'Can you provide a specific example of that' or 'when do you remember the last time that happened'?

Interviews have been an excellent tool for collecting data from the limited number of people that contributed and participated in this work and it is argued here that the quality lies in the depth of exploration, not necessarily in the breadth of views. Whilst the number of initial targets for interviews were difficult to achieve the quality, despite several challenges, of the actual number of interviews conducted seems to have been satisfactory in attempting to answer the research questions.

Reflecting upon this interview technique, which was done continually through the process, the researcher puts forward the following analysis and areas for personal development:

- 1) Better contingencies could have been put in place in terms of the timeframe in which to contact and subsequently interview the participants – the interview period ran over by 2/3 months.
- 2) More pilot questionnaires and practice of interview techniques could have been conducted – this may have eliminated some of the early 'nervousness' and 'confidence' issues that contributed to one or two early interviews deviating away from the preset structure.
- 3) Opportunity could have been better provided to give respondents an out in some questions – some early questions seemed to put pressure on one or two participants to provide a definitive answer.
- 4) There could have been improved recognition of 'silence' from the respondents – this was understood in early interviews to the participant not understanding the question but was in fact in most places a pause for thought before delivering a considered answer.
- 5) The researcher was quickly able to build appropriate rapport with the interviewee which resulted in most interviews lasting longer than anticipated and sometimes in lengthy informal conversations after the recording and formal element of the interview had finished.

- 6) The questions chosen by the researcher in the main were directly related to the core research questions for this study. These questions were able to be delivered and answers obtained in most of the interviews.
- 7) For the researcher, this interview process was an enjoyable experience which allowed use of communication skills (particularly listening) and was felt to be one the most enjoyable parts of this research.
- 8) Whilst interviewing political elites was somewhat challenging this type of interview allowed an insight into a layer of the city not viewed by the researcher before and provided a methodological contribution to this work as it brings together the thoughts and perceptions of key decision makers at one period in time about a particular subject matter.

3.5.3 Participant Observations

This researcher has wanted to know more about the way in which people occupy space and place within areas of urban renewal. Stanfield and Rutledge (2003:61) state that “those who advocate participant observation seek a holistic and dynamic approach to community studies and emphasises the importance of analysing social change.” This approach, as stated previously, has mainly been intertwined with semi-structured interviews but these observations have accounted for a substantial proportion of the research activity. In terms of observations, however, it was thought that there are many potential ethical concerns that could arise from this type of work. These challenges took into consideration the problems surrounding whether the people being studied knew that they are under observation and how they can give their consent.

One concern about how valid and reliable observation data can be, is the fact that when being observed people tend to act differently rather than acting naturally when they are not, or do not know they are, being observed. Based on this the assumption is that covert observations are more likely to yield true results of what is happening. Shils (1959) however opposes covert research techniques and states that this form of observation should not be used unless full permission and consent is obtained. Opposing this view, Douglas (1976) debates that conventional methods such as observations are ethically viable since people by nature are cooperative and want to share their thoughts shared with the world. This researcher believes

because the observations were made in public and not in a private / personal environment behind closed doors, that observations in this instance were ethical and appropriate.

Field observations were conducted in various locations and at various times of day. These observations were conducted over a twelve-month period. The whole of Cheetham Hill Road provided a linear approach to observations as many of the community walks that were conducted used Cheetham Hill Road as a starting point. Walks usually started at the top, middle or bottom of this road as they offered opportunity to explore areas to the east and west quite easily as the boundaries to the ward were only a 10/15-minute walk in either direction. These walks typically lasted two to three hours although on many occasions, if combining shopping or eating, up to five hours were spent in Cheetham or/Broughton. Due to their proximity to each other, the observations could be made at approximately the same time of day in both Cheetham and Broughton.

The results of data captured from observations are recalled in the findings sections of this thesis but typically the locations used were, South Asian, European and Middle Eastern cafes and take aways, high street and smaller ethnic/cultural retail offerings, public transport hubs, business hubs, green spaces, school routes and areas of residential housing. There were obviously some ethical issues that arose from these, namely the observations on school routes. Care and caution were taken so observations were not made outside schools, notes were not taken in the presence of children and no photos were taken. School routes were of interest as the researcher wanted to uncover certain things e.g. if parents in Cheetham drove their children to school or even if children were accompanied, the behaviors of children on the way to school or the ethnic population of children in certain schools.

Observations were often made on the move with time to reflect and capture information when refuge was sought for breakfast or lunch. The local cafes and takeaways proved an effective place to do this but also opportunity to observe the food offerings in Cheetham and Broughton. One observation and informal conversation with a take away owner (Chapatti Corner) provided an insight into the transient nature of Cheetham. Although discussed later in the thesis this South Asian café changed their menu from a previous visit the week before. Noticing something on the menu called Kobeda the owner was asked what type of kebab this was, and he said it was more Middle Eastern as it uses Middle Eastern spices. Asking why this was now

on the menu the owner informed me that several his customers (many them new) were from the Middle East, were settling in the area and that he was just trying to be reflective of what these people wanted to eat.

This provoked thought as to whether service delivery by local authorities would be this quick to firstly recognise the change and secondly respond as quickly. Representation of Middle Eastern cultural influence has been the appearance of shisha cafes on the lower part of Cheetham Hill Road. It also allowed this researcher to reflect upon information gleaned from the most innocuous of situations that would be as relevant sometimes as that from the ‘elites’ that were interviewed. Several other observations are detailed further in the findings in chapter four. By using observations this method has allowed the research to uncover things that are not known, or not spoken about, which would not be disclosed by interviewing people or using surveys. The ethical challenges foreseen and faced with this method were highlighted previously in section 3.3. Observations during site visits and interviews have been invaluable to this study.

In behavioural terms people conducted themselves, in the opinion of this researcher, differently when some of them knew they were being observed. For this reason, observations about behaviour tend to be stronger when a group is observed constantly over an extended period. This however did not cause too much difficulty as the observations were mainly focused on physicality of the sites and observing people from a distance. The only observations of individuals were in an interview environment or in other one-off encounters of groups of people e.g. when observing the activity within certain cultural arenas (ethnic take away shops) where the users were not the same group of people present upon each visit. Within this example though it is worth noting that one or two of the take away owners became familiar to me and subsequent conversations/interviews (which arose from these participant observations) could be conducted and valuable information obtained. Some interesting observational and conversational findings, from these sources, regarding responding to sudden changes in cultural diversity are presented in chapter four.

The key challenge here has been to notice all the data that is relevant to what is being studied and not just the data that obviously fitted with the research questions This is where recording and re-examining the data later has been helpful as the data was able to be analysed several times and at various times to ensure that everything relevant has been included. As the research

has adapted and evolved so too has the importance of some of the data captured through participant observations.

3.5.4 The field note-book

The ways in which notes have been taken during the interview and observational-led study has been a skill that has developed over time with more experience in the field in terms of observing and interviewing. Patton (2002) states that if note taking is involved, note taking skills need to be continually developed. With some of them already developed from human geography social research projects during undergraduate studies some basic guidance had already been provided from within approved higher education research frameworks. This has included describing the physical setting and the dynamics of the interaction of people within various places. The types of interactions captured in this work have been verbal and nonverbal communication patterns, behavioural characteristics and how frequent interactions occurred. Loftland (1971:102) states “Field notes provide the observers *raison d’être*. If not doing them, (the observer) might as well not be in the setting”. Care was also taken to provide a description of the people contributing along with their roles and responsibilities combined with any impact the researcher might have had on the situation being observed.

Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein (1997) allude to what should be contained in field notes, “Date, time, and place of observation; Specific facts, numbers, details of what happens at the site; Sensory impressions: sights, sounds, textures, smells, taste; Personal responses to the fact of recording field notes; Specific words, phrases, summaries of conversations, and insider language; Questions about people or behaviors at the site for future investigation; Page numbers to help keep observations in order”. As noted by Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein (1997) above, the field notes should also capture the researcher’s own reflections and feelings about what is being observed. It has been important to capture these feelings as merely recalling descriptions of what took place will be insufficient to look back in this context. Reflective practice has become an improved dimension to this researcher’s professional skill set.

The field notes have generally consisted of descriptive information, in which attempts have been made to record information gained which has included the observation of conversations, people’s daily activity, the setting in which the observation took place along with some factual data such as the time and date of the observation. Just as important though has been the

capturing of reflective summaries, ideas and questions that could be evolved for further interviews. To make sense of what sometimes have been rough or scruffy notes, the field note book was examined soon after the observations were completed. This has been essential in adding detail so that fresh recollections were captured. This has ensured the richness and pertinence of the data has not been lost if the detail was attempted to be recalled over a longer period time.

In some instances, the researcher only had a single opportunity to make an observation. This worked relatively well but on reflection some prior field note taking rehearsals may have been pertinent to make it more streamlined. This slight issue of effective note taking was highlighted previously in the semi-structured interview part of this chapter (section 4). Whilst this has not been a hindrance the researcher feels that some key details were not captured during one or two interviews and observations. This however was in the initial stages of the field work process and was quickly rectified. Taking accurate notes while actively observing has been a difficult challenge for this researcher. Despite these early difficulties of keeping up with the conversation or the speed at which people went about their daily business, the researcher also started using more descriptive words (as opposed to assumptive words) to document what was being observed. This allowed more clarity and focus when reflecting upon the data that had been captured.

There was also, at times, some difficulty in focusing on the research problem at hand as initially the researcher was trying to document everything observed and found that in the preliminary stages there was a slight cluttering of notes with irrelevant information. As this skill has developed the researcher has tried to capture ideas about the underlying meaning of what was being observed. There have also been included any insights about what has been observed and these have sometimes been accompanied with speculation as to why the researcher believed specific phenomenon occurred.

The field notes have contained a description of what has been observed in both research sites and contain what the researcher thought was worth capturing. This non-reliance upon future recall has proved invaluable when reflecting upon the fieldwork experiences and thinking about the researcher's academic journey. Whilst there are no universal prescriptions about how notes should be taken in the field this researcher recognised that flexible and reactive approaches needed to be taken because "different settings lend themselves to different ways of proceeding and the way in which fieldwork is organized is mostly a matter of personal style and individual

work habits” (Patten, 2012:302). The notes recorded in the field note book have provided insight, interpretation and the beginning of the analysis about what is occurring and any meaning that can be attached. The notes have been an important point of referral for putting the case studies together.

3.6 Data Presentation and Analysis

3.6.1 Presenting the data

The findings part of this thesis (chapter four) is where the findings from the research, based upon the methodology that has been used to capture data, is presented in a thematic manner. These themes will be presented per case for Cheetham and then Broughton by using a narrative to tell a story about the two places. These themes broadly cover how economic driven development is at the heart of renewal agendas, the frameworks in which this is delivered and how different sectors and organisations work co-operatively. Themes also include how the fragile nature of the relationships in the three sectors are managed and the different attitudes to leadership. These findings are presented alongside the impacts of recession and but there is also a focus upon Susan Fainstein’s criteria for justice that are then reworked for the investigation. This thematic narrative about both localities provides alignment to the core research questions and helps to make sense of the just city concept through the co-operative city.

The findings part of this thesis has been careful not to just simply state the findings in a sequence addressing where each of the research questions has been answered. This has instead been done through a narrative about both research sites. This narrative provides a variety of responses from the interviews intermingled with salient observations from field work and secondary data collected.

In trying to prioritise and contextualise information throughout the research journey it has been very important to incorporate periods of time for reflection. This was highlighted during the transfer viva from MPhil to PhD. One of the panel discussed the importance of taking time to think. This advice was taken on board but at time the practicalities of adhering to this advice were challenging during extremely busy periods personally and professionally. Advice was also offered by the same panel member on ensuring that all knowledge from all methods is

imparted, this included ensuring that my participant observations were not completely superseded by the interview data.

3.6.2 Analysing and interpreting the data

When considering the interpretation of the data this has been approached using a thematic analysis. This allowed the researcher to consider all data from a variety of data sources and any hidden meaning in some of the information gathered. This synthesis chapter is therefore thematic by nature and addresses the following; co-operative working and informal/formal policy arrangements, place making and political stances, context setting negatives and changes in political authority – all to make sense of the just city through the co-operative city.

In terms of analysing text and extracting the relevant information most of this type of analysis has come from examining the transcripts that have been written up after interviews, the participant observations and the theoretical considerations from chapter two. The way the interviews have been conducted (in a semi-structured fashion) has affected the nature of the way in which the conversations were conducted and perhaps the ability to anticipate the analysis. The way in which this research has chosen to deal with the type of qualitative data and subsequent analysis has been through constructing emerging themes. By using themes, the research questions have been addressed and the associated findings categorised for ease of analysis, but it is apparent within the synthesis chapter that some non-predetermined themes (research questions) have emerged. The main one here being the idea of the co-operative city.

Some basis coding principles have been used as a way of grouping together pertinent responses from the interviews that have been uncovered. Whilst the researcher would have liked to have engaged more with specific coding software programmes, time restrictions and personal commitments prevented this. However, thematic analysis was used through basic coding techniques where transcripts were examined paragraph by paragraph to pick out key words and themes to then be fed into Word Cloud software. This software highlights the number of times key words or phrases are used and illustrative findings are produced that show the predominance of some words over others in terms of the amount of times they were used in a conversation. This allowed some basic interpretation and recognition of some emergent themes for further investigation.

Chapter 4 – FINDINGS

Cheetham, Manchester (Case 1)

4.1 Cheetham - Introduction

“For the last 200 years, Cheetham Hill has been a key arrival point for migrants entering the City, including: Irish migrants in the mid nineteenth century; Jewish migrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; and migrants from the Commonwealth countries in the mid twentieth century. Cheetham Hill remains an extremely diverse area today” CLES (2012)

Case 1 and Case 2, the research sites of Cheetham, Manchester and Broughton, Salford, provide evidence of the empirical work undertaken required for this thesis. The aim of the cases has been to gather and provide enough data from the respondents and field observations to achieve this. This chapter provides a localised review of these two wards in the north of the city to provide some context for some of the methodological and philosophical choices made earlier in the thesis. Along with this, participant observations, secondary sourced findings and contributions from the interviews will be intertwined throughout the chapter to help provide a thematic narrative of the locations that have been researched. Each case will be addressed in turn commencing with the findings from Cheetham.

The emergent themes for Cheetham (Case 1) include the way in which economic development is at the heart of renewal agendas particularly through property/housing led renewal and the frameworks in which this is delivered, how all of this is not joined up, how different sectors and organisations work co-operatively and the fragile nature of the relationships within and between the three sectors. Manchester has however got very strong leadership and politically it imposes itself both on the Manchester and Greater Manchester regional level and Manchester sees itself as the driving force. These themes help answer core research question one. Further themes that assist in answering research question two are related to how the relationships and processes are managed and the different attitudes to leadership and place making. These findings are presented along with, to help in answering core research question three, the outcomes from the impacts of recession and austerity. There is also a focus upon one of Susan

Fainstein's criteria for justice (diversity), cooperative working and the community's assets that appears to also be a contributing factor in urban renewal processes in Cheetham.

This chapter therefore presents these themes, mainly arrived at from the collection of primary data, and in accordance with the semi-structured interviews and further field work observations and participant observations captured during the research period. This information is designed to highlight the visible and invisible activity in these communities within processes of urban renewal. It is also the way in which the research tries to make sense of the just city concept through the notion of the co-operative city. This chapter is therefore presented in a thematic manner through a narrative designed to help assist in answering each of the core research questions that have been used in both localities. This has been set out previously in the methodology section (Chapter three). The evidence presented here will provide an opportunity for the synthesis later in the thesis (Chapter five) and offer some foundation for the contributions to knowledge made in the concluding section of the thesis. The core research questions being answered in this chapter are: -

- 1) What are the processes and relationships employed in urban renewal in cities and in particular Manchester and Salford?
- 2) How are they managed and who is involved?
- 3) What are the resultant outcomes and contributing factors?

The wards chosen for this research are two distressed areas that have been subject to recent regeneration programmes implemented by strategic partnerships, joint council initiatives and community groups. As highlighted in the methodology chapter, the communities of interest representative of the public, private and third sectors, in the context of urban renewal practice and social justice, are of fundamental importance to the work and have been identified as key decision makers in their field of work. Part of the rationale for choosing these two sites is that whilst geographically located next to one another they are governed and managed by two different local authorities in Greater Manchester. Putting this into some perspective one council official (J) in the Cheetham ward stated, of Broughton and Cheetham,

“They are two very different places. Cheetham and Broughton are diverse localities as well as the nature of the economies. Cheetham is quite thriving. It's changed and improving, and I think it is down to the migration and its locality. Broughton is a little bit kind of different. There

is the big business park but the integration and community is different to what is going on in Cheetham Hill.”

This provides interesting initial early insight on how various parts of the city are developed socially and economically and how they are managed through public, private and voluntary sector involvement. Cheetham, the first area to be discussed here, is also a diverse place where the researcher spent three years living at the northern boundary of the ward and worked for five years for a retail company at the lower end of Cheetham Hill Road. This lived experience and relationship with Cheetham has also helped develop the initial ideas and rationale for this project.

4.2 Demographics

Cheetham Hill or The Hill, as it is known locally, or Cheetham, its official ward name, is located in the north of the city centre ward. Figure 4 below illustrates the location in the city-region of Greater Manchester. Population figures state that the population of Cheetham is 22,562 (ONS, 2011). Cheetham is home to a transient diverse population with over fifty languages spoken in this densely populated ward. A community worker (F) in Cheetham commented on the diversity “The thing about Cheetham I feel is there seems to be some kind of harmony. There are over 50 languages spoken, distinct cultural and ethnic groups but there is no real antagonism or anything else I am aware of. You don’t hear about it or people don’t talk about it really”. With neighbouring Manchester wards of Harpurhey, Crumpsall, Manchester city center and the Salford ward of Broughton, Cheetham is a diversely populated ward where a number of nationalities, faiths and cultures are evident.

Democratically, Cheetham is part of the Blackley and Broughton constituency, created in 2010, and is one of the electoral wards under the governance of Manchester City Council. Political representation is in the form of local Labour control (3 Labour Councillors) and who’s current MP is Graham Stringer.

Cheetham Hill has been for some time an important destination for migrants entering the City. Traditionally these have included arrivals recently from Eastern Europe and the Middle East and historically Irish, Jewish migrants and migrants from the Commonwealth countries in the mid-20th century. Cheetham is a diverse area but some of the neighbourhoods in this ward

currently face a wide range of related physical, social and economic challenges and have done so for some time.

Figures 4, 5 and 6 below provide some visual indication as to the location of the ward of Cheetham in Manchester.



Fig 4. Location of Manchester, UK. Source: World Easy Guides (2015)



Fig 5. Manchester City authority in the context of the ten Greater Manchester Combined Authorities – Source (Manchestermule.com, 2016)

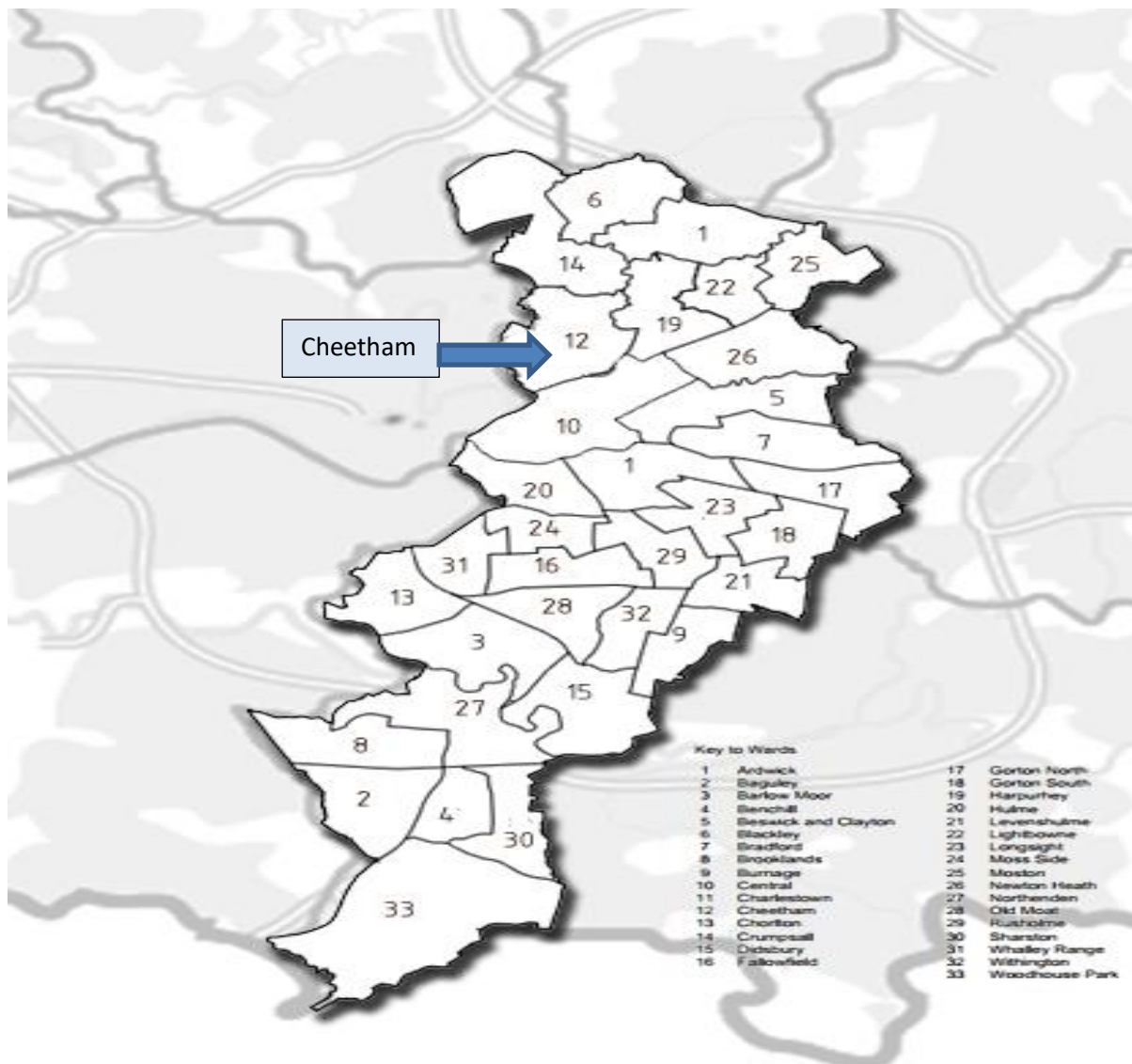


Fig 6. Cheetham in the context of the Manchester City authority – Source (Manchester Maps UK, 2012)

Cheetham was once the home to workers in the industrial era that was prevalent in Manchester, but since the 1970s and 80s some of the major employers have left the manufacturing arena. These physical changes have been observed in community walks and observations at the lower end of Cheetham Hill Road, the A665 which is an arterial route out of the city centre to the north. Behind the main road there is evidence of reinvented use of buildings. These buildings and warehouses still do offer some element of manufacturing (mainly textiles) but their use has transformed into warehousing and wholesale outlets in the main. Cheetham Hill does also have a reputation as a fake goods manufacturer and distributor.

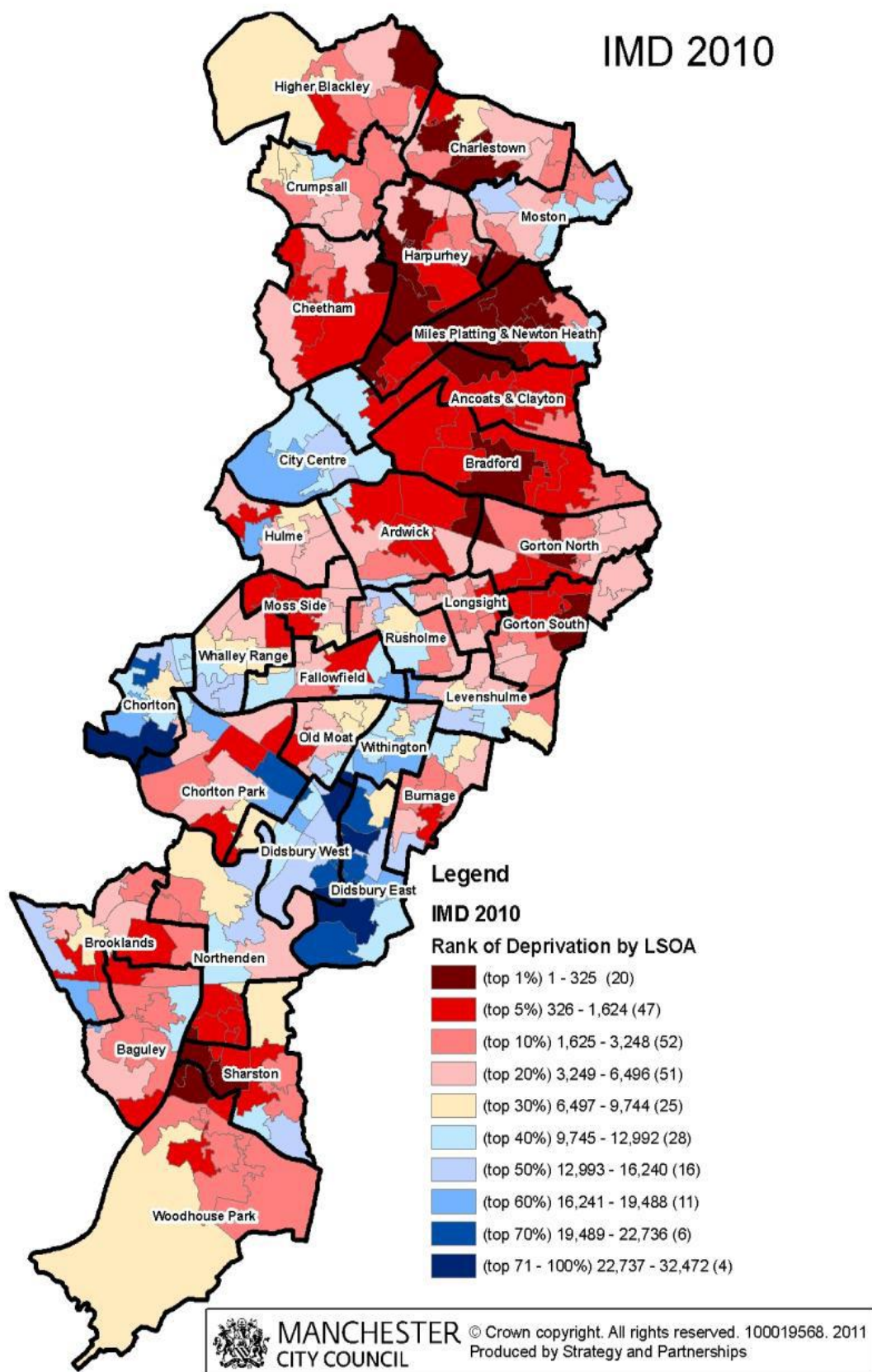


Fig 8. Indices of Multiple Deprivation – Manchester Wards 2010 (Source MCC 2012)

Directly related to the provision of housing is the ‘need’ due to poverty. ONS data from 2010 shows that Cheetham’s population is one that suffers from deprivation. Fig 8 above shows that in 2010 Cheetham was in the top 5% of wards in the Indices of Multiple Deprivation. Before this in 2008, according to Manchester City Council (2011)

“The ward had a higher proportion of children under the age of 16 in poverty than the Manchester average (50.7% compared to 41.8%), and a higher rate than the average for England.” Life expectancy in Cheetham is “significantly lower than the average rate for England: 76.4 years compared with 80.3” (MCC, 2010).

Economy, employment and education data shows that there are “higher than city averages of businesses in the manufacturing and wholesale sectors in the wider Cheetham ward, with lower proportions in the financial intermediation, health, hotel and real estate sectors in 2010” (ibid). The same source indicates that “Much higher than the city average proportions of workers in the ward were employed in the manufacturing, construction, transport and wholesale sectors, with lower proportions in the education, financial intermediation and hotel sectors in 2010.” (ibid)

Policy tends to lead the urban renewal activity in Cheetham and North Manchester and Cheetham has a specific ward plan in which governance operates. Ward plans are developed in every ward in the city. They provide a local context for the delivery of services and the ongoing regeneration of the area. The Cheetham ward plan helps to identify achievements that have been made to date and to understand what the opportunities are for the future. The plan identifies local priorities and provides an action plan for delivery over the next 23 years. The ward plan underpins the delivery of the Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) and reflects the strategic objectives for the wider North Manchester district, and their delivery at local level. The ward plan also supports local plans, including the Strangeways and Collyhurst Local Plan, by setting clear priorities for service delivery to support wider regeneration initiatives taking place within the ward. Ward plan delivery is continually monitored through ward coordination structures that include service representatives from the Council to provide democratic input.

Putting this into a strategic context the ward plan’s priorities and actions are consistent with the aims and objectives of the Community Strategy and the North Manchester Strategic Regeneration Framework (NMSRF). The Community Strategy provides a vision for the City

of Manchester to 2015 and has three spines that connect economic success to better outcomes for Manchester people: reaching full potential in education and employment, individual and collective self-esteem and mutual respect and providing neighbourhoods of choice. The NMSRF was published in 2003 and the Council is currently reviewing its plans for the ongoing transformation of North Manchester. Consultation on a refreshed NMSRF is currently underway and the intention is to build on the progress made to date and to continue to deliver sustainable communities for North Manchester.

Considering the core research questions and these strategic frameworks, the discussion that takes place here initially concentrates on the first of the thematic based findings, relating to core research question one, mentioned at the start of this chapter. This relates to identifying the processes and relationships in urban renewal in the Manchester city-region and the economic driven frameworks that deliver urban change within these policies mentioned above.

4.3 Core RQ 1 - What are the process and relationships in urban renewal in cities, in particular, Manchester and Salford?

4.3.1 Economic development driven strategies and frameworks

Economic driven development is one of the main findings from this research that is highlighted in underpinning the synthesis later in the thesis. The strategic frameworks (involving LEPs) and policy regarding urban renewal use this as the driver for development. This opening part of the thematic findings looks at the processes/frameworks for delivery and the visible/invisible connections on the ground that contribute to making all this work. Economic driven development through property-led initiatives are the driving force but consideration is given here as to the fragile nature of the relationships in these frameworks.

Adding to this point about economic activity and the delivery geography of LEPs, Jupp (2013) recently discussed how the board of the Local Enterprise Partnership, the partnership between business and local authorities which replaced the Regional Development Agencies in 2011 (discussed in chapter two), has had a complete shake up of its board by welcoming four new private sector members. The chair for the LEP, Mike Blackburn went on record stating that

“the new appointments reflect some of the sectors seen as key to driving growth in the region’s economy” (Blackburn, 2013:31) adding that “together the new appointments bring a whole range of skills and experience to the table – particularly from manufacturing, international, creative and digital sectors – which are key growth areas for Greater Manchester.” Interestingly in 2010, Peel Holdings (Trafford Centre and Manchester Ship Canal Owner) found themselves at odds with the ten local authorities when it launched a bid to replace the NWDSs itself as an LEP.

The local authorities appeared not keen on allowing a private company the role of LEP and AGMA (Association of Greater Manchester Authorities) chairman Lord Peter Smith (2010) commented on their own plans for the LEP by saying “Our proposed LEP will complement wider moves towards a devolution of powers to a Greater Manchester Level”. Considering the opposition Ferguson (2010) states that Peel scrapped its plans and instead Peel would form a special vehicle for delivery which will be accountable to three proposed LEPs. These will include AGMA (now GMCA), Cheshire, Warrington and Liverpool if they are approved by the government. These proposals and appointments seem to indicate an economic driver for the strategic relationships on a regional level and provides some early evidence in examining the duality of economic growth and social justice and ways in which the research can make sense of the just city.

Local and city-region policy has traditionally been delivered through regional and local initiatives and frameworks. Of interesting note, The Greater Manchester Strategy (2017) contains seventeen summative points for the document – fifteen of which relate to economic growth and is indicative of a city-region focused on economic development as a driver for urban renewal. Questions arise over this as to how equitable this agenda is in considering social justice. The ten local authorities do however appear to have successfully worked on a collaborative basis for several years and this latest attempt at renewal strategies could be a continuation of what has ‘worked’ in previous years. Of these large strategies there is quite a focus geographically on some of the work that is done through these frameworks. There is, in addition to the Greater Manchester frameworks, broader thematic SRF (Strategic Regional Framework) level pieces of work are being delivered. Upon speaking to a council official (A) in Cheetham it was stated that,

“We have the priorities and the strategies and it’s about working with partnerships and working closely with local members and having a long plan which kind of devolves down from the SRF, but it takes those bigger picture priorities but also to agree local priorities for the ward.”

Emerging from the findings regarding the heavy concentration upon economic driven development, has been the process of housing and commercial-led regeneration as part of these delivery frameworks. There is strong focus on the economy and housing is one of the main drivers behind initiatives and policy. Interestingly however the formulation of a Manchester/Salford Pathfinder initiative, which is part of a being piece of work called the Housing Market Renewal Initiative, has allowed the construction of an integrated and long-term strategy designed to deal with some of these initiatives within a wider urban renewal framework. This framework is the North Manchester Strategic Framework and contains within it a major focus on housing-led development and urban renewal and will be referred to further in this chapter.

4.3.2 Property led renewal

Cheetham, which sits within this framework of renewal, is quite a densely populated ward made up of a combination of private owned/rented and social rented housing. The housing stock is mainly Victorian terraced /semidetached stock with areas of 1970s developments. Parts of the ward are currently undergoing development with new ‘affordable’ housing being constructed. In terms of the housing stock, according to the City Council, in November 2011, “private residential properties in the ward accounted for 68.5% of all property in the ward, similar to the City average of 68.7%. 94.3% of properties in the ward were occupied”. Please refer to the table below.

What is not indicated in the table however are recent concerns surrounding the lack of affordable housing recently identified from the new housing stock built by private developers whilst attempting to solve the housing shortage in the city-region.

Table 3. Percentage of private and social housing in Cheetham (Source, MCC 2012)

Tenure	Private	Social	Total
Cheetham	68.5%	31.5%	-
Manchester	68.7 %	31.1 %	-
Cheetham	6,042	2,773	8,817

The map below shows the ward boundary and the mix of private and social housing within Cheetham. Note the concentration of social housing to the east of the ward and Cheetham Hill Road.

Tenure 2010

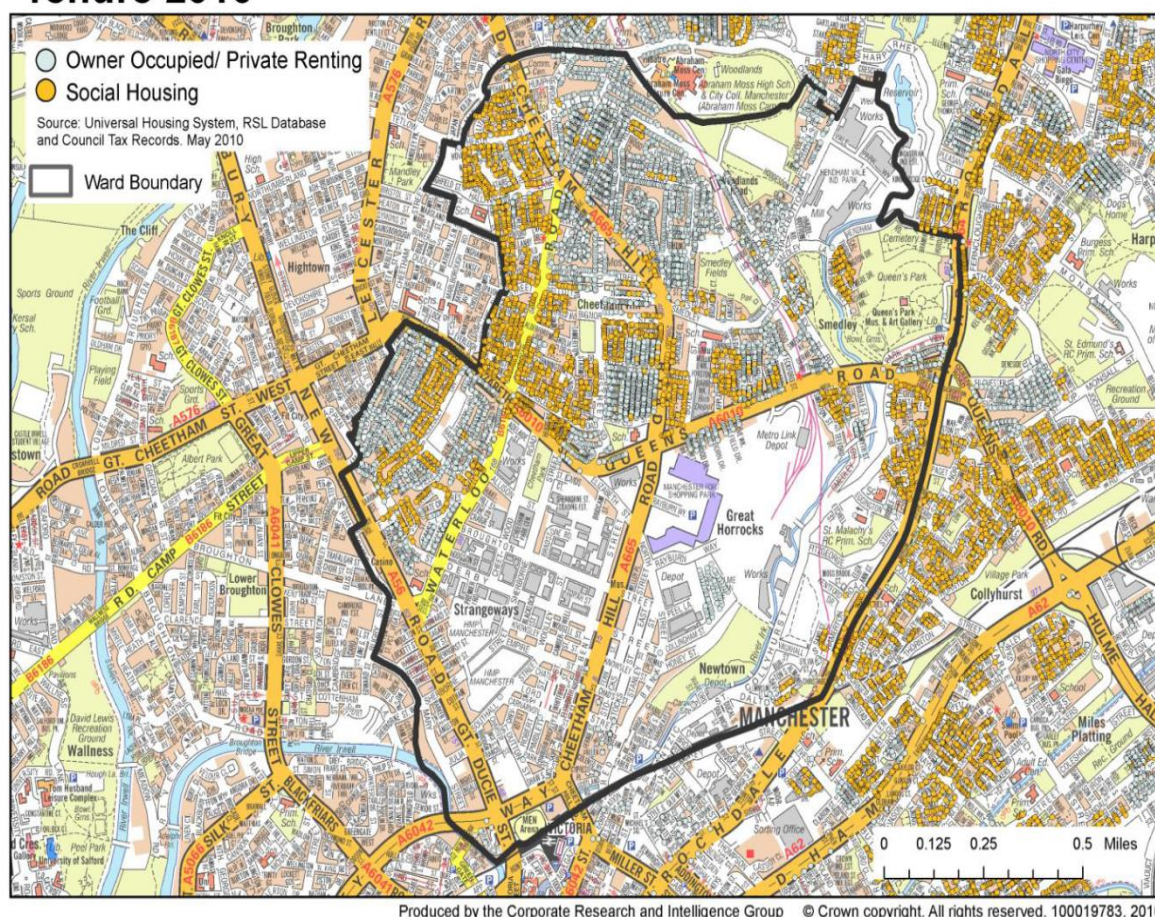


Fig 9. Source: Housing Information Unit and Council Tax data (Manchester City Council 2010)

In Cheetham there has been work on welfare reform, particularly in housing due to the nature of the community and the Pakistani and Bangladeshi community which often have large families. There is a lot of migration to move to localities that have stronger housing offering with kind of bigger properties for some groups. As a result, what can be found is that people are moving from Cheetham Hill and Harpurhey out towards Moston and even into Tameside and Oldham. This is partly because of welfare reforms and a search for cheaper properties is an interesting dynamic that is occurring.

Northwards Housing (below) is responsible for allocation and management of the social rented housing stock in Cheetham and the main office sits in the middle of Cheetham Hill Village to the north of Cheetham Hill Road. Northwards Housing is a not-for-profit ALMO (arm's length management organisation) that manages over 13,000 City Council homes across Higher Blackley, Crumpsall, Collyhurst, Harpurhey, Moston, Charlestown, Miles Platting Newton Heath and Cheetham.



Fig 10. Northwards Housing Association based on Cheetham Hill Road. Sources – Author (2014)



Fig 10a. Areas where Northwards manage City Council properties. Source – Northwood Housing (2016)

Most of the residential areas of Cheetham lie either side of Cheetham Hill Road and there are currently no significant new build developments occurring in Cheetham. Most of the activity with the existing housing stock has been with low level interventions. Figure 11 below shows some of the three-story properties along the middle of Cheetham Hill Road near Manchester Fort retail park which have undergone sandblasting to the front of the properties, new front doors, new windows and new garden railings. These were renovated in 2012.



Fig 11. Three storey terraced housing on Cheetham Hill Road. Source – Author (2014)



Fig 12 Social; rented housing off Waterloo Road

The social rented housing illustrated in figure 12 is in the center of Cheetham behind Cheetham Hill Road and house most of the ethnically diverse community. Most of the social rented properties are in the west of the ward that borders Broughton. These types of houses are typical of the council stock in the area – built in the 1970s. These too have recently undergone interventions like the terraced housing on Cheetham Hill Road – new railings, doors and windows. What has been noticeable is that these interventions have been happening all over the ward and attention to this need has been equitable.



Fig 13. Private owned - semi-detached housing around edge of the ward.
Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 14. Recent House builds off Queens Road.
Source - (Author 2014)

There are also large pockets of privately-owned property in Cheetham. Typical of these are the semi-detached properties in the outer lying areas of the ward, illustrated in figure 13 and some of the newer developments such as the new build off Waterloo Road in figure 14. Cheetham does not have much high-rise living compared to other wards within the boundary of Manchester City council although there have been some small-scale developments of flats/apartments such as those below on Elizabeth Street.



Fig 15. One of only a few purpose build blocks of flats. These are on Elizabeth Street. Source (Author, 2014)

4.3.3 Shared and different understandings of leadership and management

The second theme that has emerged in answering research question one is that there do also appear to be differences in the way relationships and processes with the urban renewal strategies are managed by Manchester and Salford City leaders and as to how they are delivered on a local level. The imposition of a city-mayor will provide an interesting perspective on leadership and managing the city-region in the context of democracy in the future. However, the current levels of cooperative and collaborative working on the ground is testament not just

to visible, but also the invisible, relationships and processes that exist outside framed local government policy.

Whilst one senior leader in Manchester does not recognise the role of the Community and Voluntary Sector (CVS) or indeed the CVS even being a sector at all, the question of how these groups are working together is remarkable without the resources and support from above. At what point are the leadership messages disregarded and ignored if the council coordinators on the ground are saying something different? Ward co-ordinators see it differently than some city leaders. Cheetham has benefitted from cultural-led regeneration, assisted by the CVS, but is not wholly supported by Manchester City Council. Perhaps this is a reason that Cheetham has been classed as ‘resilient’ due to organic growth and cooperative working from within. Some of this resilience has emerged from the diverse ethnic groups, represented by over fifty spoken languages in Cheetham but this vast difference has also encountered problems in co-ordination and implementation due to the subsequent language issues.

Urban renewal has been delivered through strategic frameworks and associated infrastructures and the synthesis in the next chapter will examine how relationships work within these frameworks, the constraints and the extent of cross-sector working in urban renewal. There have been thirty years of shifting administrative structures and boundaries, but the issue of social justice lingers as addressing poverty remains the key theme to urban renewal.

It has been established that some relationships are fragile, and some are strong in the different sectors and here the research looks more specifically at the individuals, organisations and sectors involved in these processes and relationships. The way in which urban renewal is managed is important to this work as it helps identify personal, political, economic or social agendas when making priorities in key decision-making thought processes by political and organisation elites. Delivery of policy is on a geographic and/or thematic basis.

4.3.4 The strength of cross-sector relationships, cooperation and unique working practices

Some relationships in the city-region appear to be strong in their own right but there is suggestion that there is no one to pull it all together. The private sector seems to have the weakest links with the public sector and the voluntary sector but there is evidence of cross-

council and cross-sector initiatives within the geographical boundaries of Cheetham and Broughton that will be explored in this chapter.

The language of ‘partnerships not contracts’ has been heard during the research and is perhaps a way of expressing collaboration or co-operation. The types of partnerships that tend to be talked about are more in terms of regeneration and neighbourhood networking and about how to deliver services and opportunities most effectively to local people in a joined-up way. It should be about how that is all joined up so that there can be an effective, consistent, coherent way of delivering all those priorities. Trying to deliver these priorities in a joined-up way is difficult and this was commented upon during one interview with a ward council officer (A) who stated that of this lack of a coherent and cohesive approach it could be said that the commercial sector and their work are reluctant to share their budget with somebody else when their outcomes are tied to a particular aim. Interested by this a researcher (C) at an independent think tank organisation stated:

“Even though they have the same objectives and could work collaboratively and co-operatively but getting to the stage where people are putting money on shared outcomes is difficult. Each department has their own particular budgets that they work with, and that is where I think that comes from.”

When thinking about how the council communicate the working together aspect there seems to be an element of messages filtering down from the top. When questioning one council official about it, (A) responded “I don’t think it is as formulaic as that, it’s not even prescriptive so you could say a number of organisations and groups will go together because they have something in common and bid with a proposal to deliver something and other groups may say that’s not for us, we have no interest in that or that’s not our thing.” In terms of participation and involvement (A) added “It may be that they come at another time and say this is of interest to us or we will support you in that or there is something in it for us. That’s the flexibility that we are trying to sell to them.”

The way in which organisations are encouraged to come together has traditionally been the work of community network and support organisations but many of them have now disappeared. Asking about the functionality of these support organisations on a north-west perspective, a regional network organisation decision maker (K) was asked about how people are brought together - “Since the structures have disappeared it’s all been much more relational

so in many respects the reasons for existence of our organisation disappeared but making sure that representative role carried on but what we have discovered is that the organisations and membership that we work with have valued the connection between the local and the national.” One of the main findings emerging from the research has been that of the notion of co-operative working when considering the traditional ways of working together. Looking at an example of this, the Ukrainian centre building which houses a Wai Yin Chinese women’s group are assisting Somalian refugees. The argument made later in this chapter is that relationships like this may not have emerged without the conditions of recession and therefore new ways of working have emerged. Recessional cuts have forced people to share building spaces, funding, initiatives and outcomes. It has been the small groups in the business and CVS sector that have been able to adapt quickly to change. There is an opportunity to learn from this but there are certain questions that need addressing 1) how can we learn from this cooperative way of working and transfer the good practices into non-recession conditions? 2) what role do all the sectors, at all levels, have to play in this? and 3) is there anyone to pull it all together?

The problem with convincing decision makers that there are alternative ways of delivering economic development, if this is the driver, are echoed by a support network decision maker (K) who stated,

“You have a city council that prides itself on having built a shiny, concrete city full of offices and it has a traditional straightforward economic way of thinking. Therefore, they view anything that we (voluntary sector) might do as a bit fluffy. So, trying to construct an argument for some things that they see as a bit fluffy in hard economic terms is difficult as you don’t want to go down one route.”

Whilst thinking about this one route or one-dimensional delivery focus up to now has been on cross sector relations there has also been evidence of successful cross-council working across Broughton and Cheetham. There is some thematic work that has been done on the local and district centres recently as part of renewal practices under the North Manchester Strategic Framework and Ward Plans. North City, which is a key economic hub and district centre, as is Cheetham, have been conducting some work on Landsdown Road in Crumpsall and the Avenue in Blackley – these are two localities in the north of the ward for which a 10 to 15-year plan has been developed for Cheetham. The two wards also sit within the same constituency adding a cross council perspective to the plans. This plan has used some high-street innovation

funds, money that the local ward has managed to get setting up a town theme partnership. One of the cross-council initiatives in this respect has been about developing a pop-up shop on the high street which is used for a range of community and cultural service delivery.

Further evidence of cross-council and co-operative initiatives in the same respect has been the launch of the Cheetham Village Partnership which is the Cheetham Traders Network. Because part of Cheetham is on the Manchester side and then part in Salford what has been required is for Manchester Council to build further links with Salford City Council along with the police. This partnership has been set up as a joint piece of work so that Manchester and Salford train businesses and tries to discuss and agree a unified and consistent police response setting up a business watch role for Salford and Manchester communities. Asking a local ward co-ordinator about these types of cross-council initiatives the response was, “I think for us as officer’s part of that is to understand what each of us is doing, how we are doing it and why we are doing it. It’s also about understanding what people are telling us so there is flexibility in what we are doing in terms of what they are telling us.”

Further discussion inferred that boundaries must be adhered to, but it is occasionally necessary to try to ignore them because sometimes they do not make sense. This is certainly the case in the area in question because Cheetham Hill and the district centre contains approximately fifty Salford shops at the top of Cheetham Hill Road (on the west side). So, by virtue of their geographic location these shops cannot be ignored because these shops are part of the whole economic strength or weakness of Cheetham Hill as a district centre.

This type of collaboration has made sense because it seems illogical to have a crime and disorder business watch and have a Manchester and Salford one. This is because if someone causes a problem on the Salford side then crosses the road to the Manchester side in Cheetham then as a trader they would want to warn other traders that they have just had a shoplifter, for example, and they then have a joint responsibility to inform the police. Some of the shops involved in the Business Watch as part of the Cheetham Traders Network co-operative way of working is illustrated below in figure 16.



Fig 16. Ethnically diverse retail shops – part of the Cheetham Traders Network.

Source – (Author, 2014)

There is a strong private sector in Cheetham represented mainly through the wholesale and manufacturing businesses that are located in the Strangeways area. There is a diverse range of diverse cultural retail offerings to accommodate the need of the ethnic and cultural groups that exist within Cheetham. One such example is one of three large fruit and vegetable superstores, figure 17 below, that occupy positions on Cheetham Hill Road.

These stores are always a hive of activity from 8 am to 10pm. In 2015 “a much higher than city average of the ward’s workers were employed in the manufacturing, construction, transport and wholesale sectors, with lower proportions in the education, financial services and hotel sectors. There are sectors where employment is expected to grow over the next twenty years” according to the North Manchester Strategic Framework (2012).



Fig 17. One of four large fruit and vegetable stores on Cheetham Hill Road. Source – (Author, 2014)

Despite the number of businesses, mainly small to medium-sized enterprises, unemployment, according to Manchester City Council (2012) “is high across the whole ward, as is the trend across much of Manchester, with Jobseekers Allowance rates in September 2011 at 6.4%”. These pressures upon the job market and inability of residents to get jobs, lends itself to making the city more just, that bit more difficult. This rise has “increased particularly sharply since spring 2011, with the unemployment trend showing a steeper ascent than that for Manchester” (5.4%).

However, it is outside of the labour market itself where the most critical issues are. The volume of incapacity benefit/employment support allowance claimants in Cheetham is higher than anywhere else across Manchester, with over 3,000 people claiming. This highlights how many people are distanced from the labour market” (MCC,2012).

4.3.5 Joining it all together - who drives this?

The thesis, by nature of the geographic locations of the two wards, sought to explore the way in which the two different councils manage the wards and if there was any collaboration between them, which there appears to be through the examples just provided. Also, within the core research questions there was a desire to find evidence of cross-sector relationships which has been touched upon briefly in this chapter so far. Having established some of the mechanisms that urban renewal is delivered under, questions were asked of many of the participants in the interviews regarding how they viewed cross sector relationships within these strategies. A response from a CVS group member (J) was particularly noteworthy,

“I think it increasingly just comes down to the individual as opposed to structures. I can think of some really great practice in organisations where you still see some crap practice around, particularly in the public sector. So, there will be part of Manchester City Council that will be quite good. Manchester, I think is not generally good at working with the voluntary sector.”

This type of response demonstrates a disconnect in perceptions/relationship between the public and voluntary sector. What was discovered during the research was that there was a consensus that relationships between sectors were strained and finding someone or something to make those connections is difficult. One faith group leader (H) commented on this by saying, “I would say it is quite difficult to find someone to pull it all together as people move on from a particular role”.

Addressing this need for strong sector relationship focus should be about the relationships that exist within a place and the engagement between the public, commercial and social economy and how that all interacts within the place. For this research it is about understanding how those different stakeholders and groups in a place work collaboratively to improve that place. Interviewing a charitable organisation senior manager (B) about the work they do and how they see their role as a CVS organisation (B) responded by stating “I suppose what we are all about is social justice and addressing inequality that is the theme that flows throughout everything we do. A lot of organisations like ours seem to be based in and around the Westminster corridor though.” This remark about most organisations being based in Westminster is interesting as it reflects some insight for this researcher in uncovering the perceived influencing factors upon

economic and social development in the Manchester city-region compared to its south of England counterparts.

The interconnections between the private, voluntary and statutory sectors are quite uneven and in a Community Resilience Report for Cheetham (CLES, 2012) the statutory sector reportedly had good links between services and with the community sector and reasonable links with the private sector. Whereas the voluntary community sector was not that well linked to the private sector but had good links with the public sector. As a result, Cheetham is seen to be fragile in terms of its resilience due to the unbalanced cross-sector relationships. It also reports that in terms of resilience that “the social sector sat somewhere between vulnerable and stable, the public sector is regarded as stable and the commercial sector is considered to be vulnerable”. (CLES, 2012). The report goes on to summarise that “the relationship between the social and commercial sectors is considered between vulnerable and stable, the relationship between the social and public sectors is rated as stable and the relationship between the public and commercial sectors is stable.” These are findings that have been confirmed through some of the research material from this work particularly through the relationship between the Cheetham Traders Network and the public sector, represented by the council and the police.

It seems apparent that if another significant economic shift or a change in something else that could impact negatively and put Cheetham in a difficult position. So, the work that has been done for example with the Cheetham Village Partnership is aimed at strengthening those links between services and business and traders and by extension will hopefully move into the voluntary and community sector. The relationship of the CVS with the private sector does not seem good though, it does not appear to be hostile it just does not exist. It could be argued however that the private sector has not known a way into the voluntary sector but also that the voluntary sector has tended to look at the private sector as ‘who are we getting into bed with?’ It should not be about getting the private sector to give to the voluntary sector, but it should be more about saying that they should be working together because the way the private sector behaves in the local community is as important to them as what they might do themselves. Thinking about re-addressing those relationships over the long term a support organisation (1) key decision maker (D) argued that,

“I think the mistake in the past has been to build structures -saying, right we will have LSP’s and the LEP’s. I think it is more about creating a movement. It’s about convincing people that there is local ownership.”

This movement contended in this thesis could be through more co-operative working to convince people to take more ownership and a stake in their community should they want to and subsequently enhancing democracy. These local cross-sector relationships are challenging to manage as each sector wants different outcomes. This is difficult because the private and public sector process of attracting economically active people to both cities is at the heart of the political, economic, and social and urban renewal agendas. Thus, leaving the CVS isolated in some respects.

The suggestion, or second theme that has emerged here from the findings is that each sector involved in these relationships and processes are managed in silo with a gap in who is responsible in bringing relationships and processes together across the city-region to create one coherent picture. This part of the chapter seeks to examine how relationships are managed along with evidence of collaborative / co-operative working and how there are shared and differing approaches to leadership and democracy. This helps answer core research question two. Of one of the above points on how relations can be strengthened, a council official (F) in Cheetham said,

“There is not necessarily enough joined up working across different departments within the authority even though there is a corporate strategy in place with a core theme of raising aspirations for example. It does not mean that it necessarily filters all the way through into how different departments work.”

Will this be the role of the city-mayor? The findings also demonstrated a concern about who there is to join up the different sectors of the city-region and the work that each does, either alone or in partnership. Howard Bernstein and Richard Leese seem best placed to understand local need and they share a vision of how cities should be run with their counterparts in Westminster. It is their driving force behind the decisions that the Greater Manchester Combined Authority make in terms of policy. Looking at this economic driven focus towards urban renewal and at the Greater Manchester Economic Development Strategy, it talks about the value of the Manchester City Council boundary to those wider, not outlying areas but, the

other nine local authorities. Therefore, making Manchester a key hub for economic activity that should bring benefits, jobs, and business to the nine other authorities – this has been a joined up, co-operative approach that has worked between the ten authorities for many years. One respondent (H), talking about the ten local authorities stated,

“I think Manchester has always operated on a city - region basis for the last 30 years anyway but without the formal structure of a combined authority. So, Manchester has always engaged with Salford, Bury, Bolton and Wigan for example.”

It appears to have been a sensible geography delivery but brings into question the potential problems for those who do not live in a city-region and whether the city-region would be democratic in this respect. Perhaps a co-operative ‘region’ would.

4.4 Core RQ 2 - How are the processes and relationships managed and who is involved?

4.4.1 Leadership, ideologies and decision making

The core research question here looks to examine who is involved in different layers and sectors within the city-region in terms of managing these two places of Broughton and Cheetham. In terms of management of these places there are evident differences to management highlighted by differences and similarities in the ideologies, agendas and policies of Manchester and Salford Councils. It is recognised that there are certain challenges such as how city leaders prioritise decisions in recession and austerity, whilst keeping economic growth going that need to be considered however. Out of the two cities, Salford has done the most to resist the cuts as long as they have been able to. When a key political decision maker at Manchester Council (E) however states,

“The voluntary sector is a complex beast, it’s not even a sector for a start”

it would therefore appear that recognition of the responsibility of managing all sectors/processes in urban renewal is somewhat distorted. Perhaps therefore austerity measures

have affected the voluntary sector more quickly in Manchester than in Salford. This is a view that will inevitably filter down to some through the different decision-making layers. (E) added,

“The voluntary sector traditionally may have a good idea once and then they want to do it over and over again. The voluntary sector, despite all the myths, is not particularly innovative.”

This view will be challenged here as the evidence found of innovative, co-operative working practices in Cheetham are evidence of innovation in unstable economic and social conditions. In direct contrast to the view above held a council representative (A) working on a ward level, also in Manchester, commented

“to address poverty and it makes the point that you need that leadership in place if you are going to achieve any of the wider outcomes, so recognising who the voluntary sector community organisations are in the locality, who the local business base is, what their capabilities and skills are, how you can engage them in regeneration. It’s all kind of like that virtuous circle of engagement.”

This direct contradiction to the message from above seems to evidence the disconnectedness, or lack of a joined-up approach, not just between sectors but also within the public sector. As key drivers for change the messages at the top regarding the importance of smaller voluntary organisations do not seem to resonate with the messages received from ground level. These thoughts above are extremely important to this work as it demonstrates a weak relationship between the community and voluntary sector and the public sector.

Thinking about managing the relationship of the CVS in urban renewal in other places like Liverpool there appears to have been a bit of a backlash against the CVS as they are starting to charge for services just as organisations out there are facing cuts. The inference here is that the sector needs to start investing/being invested in but are they going to get support from a leader who does not see the full value of the CVS in Manchester. During an interview about the pressures on the CVS financially, a key decision maker (D) from a CVS support organisation stated that,

“I think in terms of the city council they assume that we can be self-financing as they look at cities like Birmingham who have had a CVS for 20 years and had that time to be able to set

this up – new building and self-generated income – but they are asking us to do this in two years in the middle of a downturn”.

There is an argument to be put forward here that in fact what should be done is to try to construct the idea that there are the three parts of the economy, the social, private and public sectors and that they are all dependent on each other. There has been a level of independence and lack of connection between the public sector in Manchester and the voluntary sector that makes this idea difficult to achieve. This is however appearing to change as commented upon by a key decision (E) maker at a local community support organisation who was quoted as saying “the lack of an identifiable lead agency for the sector in Manchester across all things is evident, the fact that Manchester City Council is now paying us to do these things means that they are investing in a resource which sort of suggests that they half recognise its value.” It would be interesting to find out which types of organisations are being paid – small invisible CVS groups or more established, larger and more recognised groups/agencies with a successful record of fund bidding?

It is important to recognise that the three sectors all relate to each other in the sense that the private sector, for example, benefits from there being good schools and they also gain reward from the presence of good voluntary organisations because people are then involved in their community and socially active. Interestingly, some of the thoughts of (D) captured in one of the interviews adds to this,

“So, if you have these people in communities being active there is an economic benefit, they might be three levels removed, but it is there. We have just not found a way to reflect that in policy.”

This is what the politicians are trying to reflect in the strategic frameworks but seem clouded by the focus on economic-driven development. Perhaps this is where a concentration upon co-operative working could be reflected in policy.

Getting people involved, being active, engaging and participating in co-operative practices does sometimes however, in the areas where there is low social capital, require somebody or something to go in and stimulate it and build local connections that have broken down. Thinking about this in terms of the Coalition’s central policy of the Big Society agenda it could be argued that,

“The whole big society thing falls down because it was built on a village hall model where there are people with high levels of disposable time. If you have a low wage economy, you have people trying to work as many hours as they can to make ends meet and therefore don’t have the time and energy left.” (Respondent D, 2013)

In drawing up some concluding thoughts about the findings from this research question relationships and processes are developed both within strategic frameworks and from organic growth at ground level. Good relationships within each sector are evident but it is the cross-sector relationships that appear fragile or weak. One would expect perhaps relations between the CVS and the private sector to be weak, but it is at a senior level between the CVS and the public sector where worryingly relations are very fragile. On the ground the message is different. Cheetham is a transient community with no real cohesion issues and is an area that has been subject to housing and cultural led regeneration, albeit within the more visible areas of the corridor of investment which is Cheetham Hill Road.

Suggestions are also made in the findings here towards the notion of leadership which has been highlighted as a contentious issue. Whilst it should be acknowledged that governing a large metropolis is not an easy task, there appears to be a patriarchal approach from Manchester City council to how things are done. One view from inside the council stated of this, “We call it place leadership so you kind of need that leadership in place as a starting point to address particular challenges within a locality. I suppose that comes from the top so it’s the leader and the chief executive, but it also needs to filter down into the service heads” (Respondent A, 2013). Under extreme economic conditions, the CVS, has numerous roles in several of the processes and relationships in delivering goods and services to communities.

4.4.2 Managing relationships

Another theme to emerge here is about management of relationships when there are different attitudes. Despite the views of a senior council official in Manchester Council there is a voluntary sector in Manchester. It is a very diverse one including large organisations that work on a broad basis and then there are very local groups. In this current climate, some of them are struggling for survival but they make up the broader picture. In the Cheetham ward there is massive diversity in what is the biggest and densest ward population in Manchester whose population is still growing. This however has caused some issues, highlighted by a researcher

at a think tank organisation (B) who states, “So that diversity, some statutory services can’t address because a lot of it is based around culture, language etc. but having access to communities that council or other services may struggle to fill that relationship is essential.”

It could be argued, though some of the evidence found that the community sector is important in terms of what they deliver but also that some are not necessarily coherent in terms of working together as they have their own aims and interests are also chasing similar pots of funding. This is where there is a requirement not only to join up the sector but work collaboratively and effectively with private and public organisations. It is important to get key organisations to come together around issues in common where expertise and resources can be shared.

It has been observed that there are lots of community and cultural connections but perhaps not the quality of staff for example to do the monitoring and the financial requirements so partnership working where other organisations can lend their expertise would provide a ‘win win’ situation. A point that was highlighted by a community worker (T) who said, “So, you might say if there is a big lottery fund out there that you could not win on your own but if you come together you would have more success.” Conversely the same respondent claimed that “we cannot have loads of groups running around who are not working together. They need to work together otherwise some will just go.” This is an economic reality in terms of sustainability and something that has been discussed previously in the methodology section when looking at the difficulty in contact listed organisations in community directories – there were an alarming number no longer operating.

Increasingly as well, those support organisations that are left are being asked to prove their value in communities to secure funding opportunities to delivery projects and survive. The voluntary sector appears to be under more pressure for this than the commercial sector, but it is very difficult to put value on what are often quite soft outcomes from the work they do. It can be a tricky one really because why should the voluntary sector put a financial value on everything and why should they put a financial value on their outcomes? It does not make sense to do that just to fit into the mainstream idea of what economy is. At the same time there is a reality that needs to be faced that if organisations do not do this then the council must make decisions on what they are going to fund if they cannot prove value for money. This issue was apparent during the launch of the Social Value Charter in Salford where the question and answer session commenced with concerns from a youth gym/club representative asking how

they were supposed to be able to put a price on the work they do with young people. Responding to this was suggestions of help and assistance from other members of the conference about helping them with ‘social value’ tools to prove their worth. This was a very-co-operative solution accompanied by genuine offers of working with them on this if it would help with future funding bids.

The key role of the voluntary sector in Manchester has been apparent in this thesis so far. There is a problem however providing a central voluntary working organisational hub for Manchester. Respondent (D) stated regarding this problem,

“In most cities would probably be called the CVS but in Manchester for political reasons we can’t due to the political history”

Interested in the comparison between the CVS in Manchester and in different cities a senior manager (D) at a CVS networking organisation argued that “I think there is a much greater emphasis on Manchester from an authority perspective on the bigger end and Manchester is an area where the bigger players will come in to play. When certain contracts come up there is a greater interest in Manchester than there will be in the likes of Preston from a national.” Adding to this (D) stated “Often Manchester has been through some of the things that others are going through before and I always felt it (Manchester) had quite a cheque book approach to keeping the sector quiet and they have had to lose that. Discussion with this respondent revealed that he thought there seemed to be a lot of people who got their projects funded who have now lost out and whilst they were apparently used to “being able to pull political strings the council have become a bit more hard core about this way of operating”.

4.4.3 The role of community assets

Within the CVS the role of faith groups appears to have a prominent management role in communities that have been affected by austerity and the pulling out of the state. One of the things that has been clear from this research within Cheetham is the rise of, in the last year or two, faith groups playing a much bigger role, for example in the provision of community support/help for example through food banks in addressing poverty. Some of the food banks, such as the one in Cheetwood at the Cheetwood Centre, have been driven by faith organisations

but they tend to be the groups that often step in because often they are much more financially sustainable.

Below in Figure 18 is the geographic location of some of the faith group activity (represented by church location of where some of this takes place) in Cheetham. Please note that other faith group activity will also be discussed beside what takes place in churches. Some of this is evidenced below in figures 19 to 22.

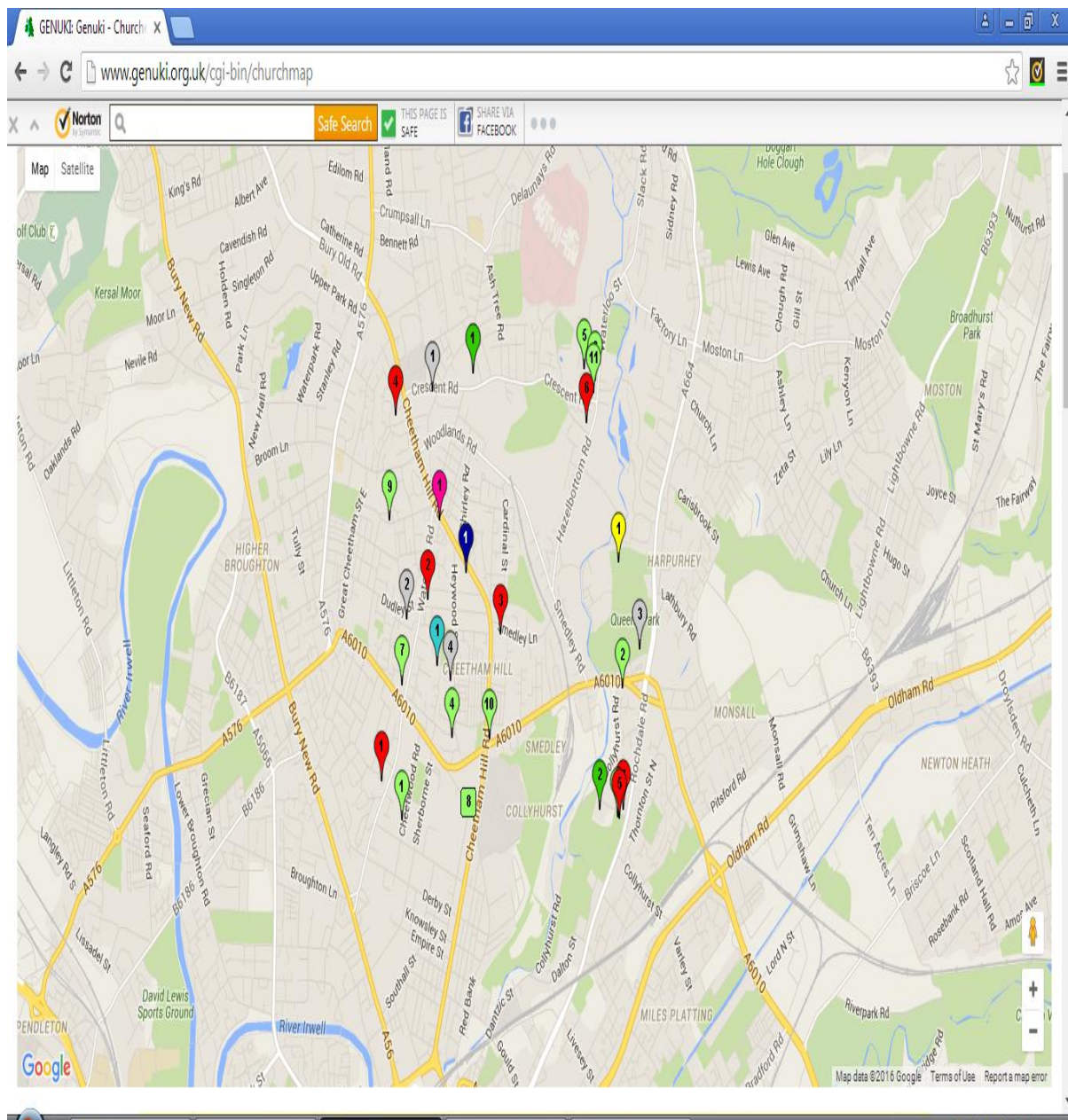


Fig 18. Distribution of Churches in Cheetham – Source (genuki.org, 2014)

Legend for Fig 18 above.

Anglican (Red)
1. St Alban, Cheetwood
2. St John the Evangelist, Cheetham Hill
3. St Luke, Cheetham Hill
4. St Mark Cheetham
Baptist (Turquoise)
1. Zion, Cheetham
Independent / Congregational (Blue)
1. Cheetham, Cheetham Hill
Methodist (Green)
1. Cheetwood Lane, Wesleyan Methodist
2. Heywood Street, Wesleyan Methodist
3. Heywood Street, Welsh Calvinist Methodist
4. Rydal Mount, Cheetham
5. Stocks Chapel, Cheetham, United Methodist Free Church
6. Tetlow Lane, primitive Methodist, Cheetham
7. Victoria Chapel, Cheetham Hill, Wesleyan Methodist
Presbyterian / Unitarian (Purple)
1. Greenhill Road, Presbyterian
Other (Grey)
1. Humphrey Street Seventh Day Adventist, Cheetham Hill
2. Thirlmere Street, Christian Brethren, Cheetham

The faith group sector does not get any funding as their work is viewed as about promoting a faith but those that use their faith and then go out and do good things is positive. The involvement of faith groups has raised an issue regarding whether a government agency or the voluntary sector are best placed to serve the community and which or both are the best driver of social and economic change. Below are some more of the physical cultural / faith-based physical assets in Cheetham photographed during participant observations.



Fig 19. The Manchester Jewish Museum

Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 20. Al- Sunnah Mosque

Source – (Author, 2014)

What is interesting is Cheetham is the location of the places of worship. Churches, mosques and synagogues are all near one another and are found in the greatest density in the center and east of Cheetham Hill Road near the residential estates. However, churches like St Johns below, are facing closure due to the lack of people attending church for worship and increasing running costs. The building is however used in the mornings and afternoons by the elderly and is also used by the community for weddings, functions and funerals. A resident in the area stated, “I go to the church from time-to-time. I’m not a regular but I know the drop-in centre is very well used, especially by the elderly people who live in the area”. Cheetham Hill has many venues that are open to the community but losing somewhere like this would mean people in food poverty, for example who attend the soup kitchen every Wednesday, would have nowhere to go. The diversity and work of the church has a long history and was one of the first to allow black and Irish people to worship there. Built in 1871, it runs a drop-in afternoon serving hot meals and is also used by local charities for outreach work. As well as Anglican services, the building is also used for services by the Eritrean Orthodox Church.



Fig 21. Trinity Church

Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 22. St Johns Church

Source – (Author, 2014)

4.5 RQ3 What are the contributing factors and outcomes?

4.5.1 Devolution and democratic processes

One of the other emergent themes to help answer research question three has been the potential impacts of the change in political authority through the devolution package agreed for the city region of Manchester. Whilst the local ward of Cheetham is subject to pressure in the local economy and from austerity measures the political and structural changes as to the way in which Manchester will be run, it is hoped that the process of devolution will produce some positive outcomes. The devolution of Greater Manchester to a city-region is a way of increasing growth in large numbers but the issue of what happens if you live outside of a city-region remains. The key things that governments will be measured on however implies that having a city is the way forward so now there appears to be a big drive for this.

Manchester has appeared to historically have been very good at controlling the political and economic agendas and they have been controlling the agenda for developing the city region devolution agreement. The government, despite this being a very Labour area, has really bought into the city region concept proposed by a Conservative-led Coalition central government. Manchester have managed the situation with the government relatively well as

they are bringing resource and power into Manchester and Greater Manchester. These moves however were questioned by a regional community organisation representative who argued,

“I don’t think you would find people of Wigan or Bolton necessarily either associate with the Greater Manchester concept or benefit from the Greater Manchester concept.”

There are some interesting debates going on about the devolution of cities in the North West now and there are implications, as evidenced by the quote above, about residents and community identity within the city-region. On a macro political level is that fact that Merseyside for the first time ever have adopted an attitude of coming together as one. Merseyside has always tried to present itself as six individuals, but it is now talking about getting city region status. This was a surprise to one key decision maker (K) at a regional CVS support organisation who explained at this being almost unthinkable “because of the sort of politics of how the Merseyside areas operate, of their inability to work together because they will get dominated by Liverpool and the others don’t want that in the same way as Greater Manchester is dominated by Manchester.” Despite this historic political difficulties Merseyside have realised that if they want power, resource and money then they need that status of a city-region. Manchester has realised this.

To overcome the difficulties in bringing differing political agendas together the benefits of city region must be clear to all. This clarity was provided by (K) who said, “If I were the leader of Stockport Council and I wanted to meet with the politicians I have got no chance, who the hell are Stockport Council. But if you have got Richard Leese assisting that debate you get there because Richard Leese can get in any minister’s diary like that.” This respondent also believed if Richard Leese or Howard Bernstein ring up Westminster “they jump”. (K) explained that via that rationale, Stockport get a piece of power that they might never have had. Summing up his point (K) said

“That’s what do we get out of it. Well we get access to people that we would never have got access to if we did not have Richard and Howard.”

The impacts of devolution are still to be felt in the short, mid and long term but there undoubtedly will be significant changes occurring in the way in which the city region is run. There could be a complete shift with some opinion being that there may be a redundancy of the ten local authorities. If the fundamentals of localism are thought about here there is such a

huge footprint with a large number of people that may make the removal, as debated by some, of the ten authorities impossible.

4.5.2 Inequality in investment

Considering all the research questions presented regarding Cheetham there have been several negative impacts upon communities through the way in which some of the processes, relationships and management of these are administered. One of these communities is that of Cheetwood to be discussed in this section which is a residential area to the west of the ward which borders with Lower Broughton. The impact of recession and austerity cuts has also been massive and has been a consistent theme that has emerged throughout the fieldwork. These impacts have been evident through things such as reduced funding streams and loss of expertise and experience in various sectors through compulsory or voluntary redundancies for example. In the midst of all this however has been emergent practices of co-operative working between and within sectors – particularly the community and voluntary sector and the way in which community assets have been utilised. These impacts and contributing factors to the relationships, processes and management will be presented here to help answer research question three.

In terms of the public sector there has been so much change going on at the council with the budget cuts, departments have repeatedly restructured. The council for example has lost thousands of staff over the last couple of years so it has been experience, knowledge, and history in terms of staff that have just been taken away. Speaking to a council official (A), it was added to this stating that if he chose to take voluntary redundancy or was made redundant he has 27 years of experience in the council and Manchester which would be lost – “There are many colleagues in this position.” With this precarious position some of the work that these departments and individuals do, inevitably because of some of these cuts some of that work has been passed to the third sector to deal with. From the interviews there seemed to be a consensus that this was the case, a thought echoed by council worker (A) who said “I think to a certain degree yes. But are they up to it? Do they have the resources the funding or the expertise, that’s debatable? Some groups are very good at it, but others are not able to step in and fill that gap or they want to continue doing their own little thing”. The effects of recession have impacted on the third sector also as it has impacted upon the work many groups carry out. The demand for services is evident and there is an increase in the requirement for work around

welfare reform in communities. The use of foodbanks for example is on the increase and some community organisations have stepped in to fill the void left by the withdrawal of state interventions.

Whilst investment in communities seems to be based upon a strong political and economic focus on economic development as a driver for change, attention needs to be paid to communities such as Cheetwood so that they do not become further isolated from the hub of their community (socially and economically). Cheetwood is an area of Cheetham that lies away from the main corridor of investment that is Cheetham Hill Road and is an area worth highlighting in this work when considering providing more equitable and fairer places for people to live. This is a major challenge facing planners, developers, and the three sectors in managing urban renewal in Cheetham. Exploring specifically the physical/economic urban renewal in the area a lot of the regeneration work has been from Forts (Retail Park) upwards and it would be fair to say the lower end has been neglected or is possibly being engulfed by the city centre of Manchester. On the face of it, it appears to be a linear issue as the middle and top middle and top of Cheetham Hill Road is well connected as there is an interconnection between the shopping centres. Situated to the west of this connected area is one of the most marginalised communities is this area, the area of Cheetwood (see figure 23 below).

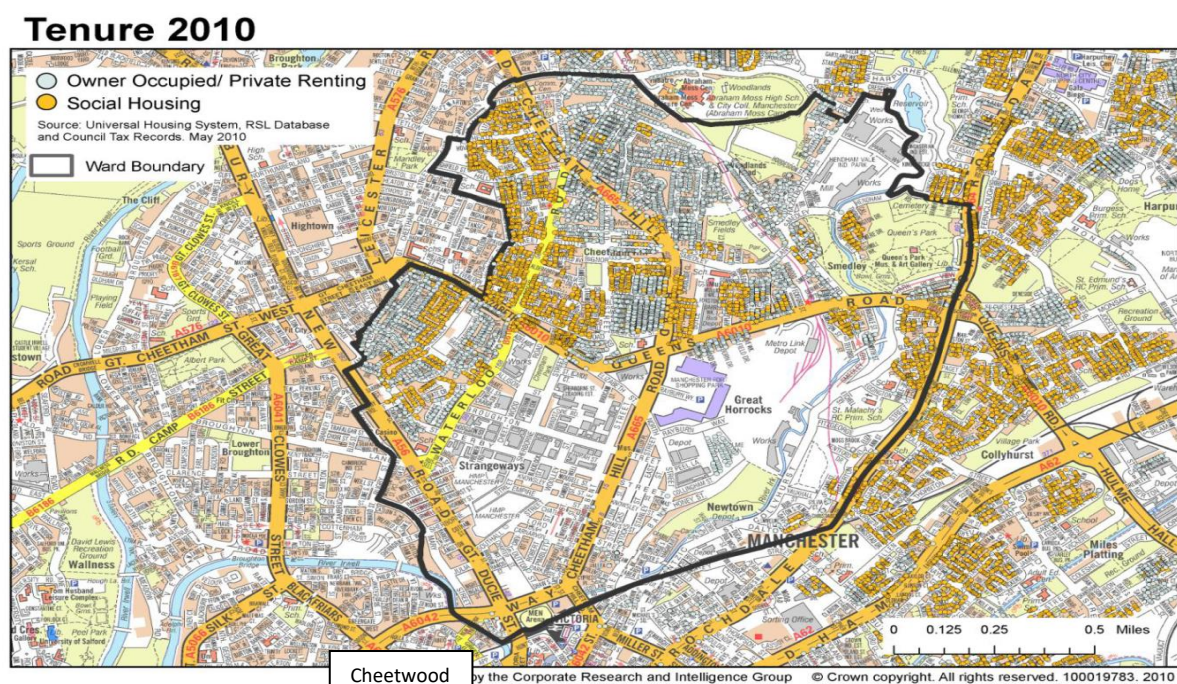


Fig 23. Cheetwood in the context of Cheetham Hill Road.

Source: Housing Information Unit and Council Tax data (Manchester City Council 2010)

Asking a key decision maker (B) at a think tank organisation about this location and their connectivity they added “I think that Cheetwood looks more towards Broughton in terms of how that operates. That is a very kind of white working-class area as well, so I think there is a demographic nature to Cheetham to the separation I suppose of that community from that main route maybe.” This route being Cheetham Hill Road – the corridor of investment.

From field work observations of this area of Cheetwood, the location has an abundance of 1970s style housing and does not benefit from good connectivity to the rest of the ward. This was found through the interviews also. The residential area whilst a short walk to Bury New Road (a main bus route into and out of Manchester) is physically disconnected (no public transport) from the main Cheetham Hill Road which is approximately half a mile away, particularly for elderly or immobile residents. There are a small number of local shops including news agents, chip shop and hairdressers and primary schools and the area benefits from the local Cheetwood Centre – see figure 24. Although currently under redevelopment the centre is managed by the Big Life Group and the community centre houses a shop which was initiated by the Big Life Group – running a food store/bank. From visiting the center, it was observed that “people can pick up a box of branded cornflakes, branded pasta or forty tea bags for just fifty pence or six mixed tins for a pound. The shop was started by staff at the Cheetwood Community Centre, with the aim of making sure parents could afford cupboard essentials so children on the estate don’t go hungry” (CCC, 2014).



Fig 24. Cheetwood Community Centre Development. Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 25. Typical 1970s housing stock in Cheetwood having recently benefited from some low level intervention to the properties. Source – (Author, 2014)

4.5.3 Economic and social diversity

Having conducted several observational walks around Cheetwood at varying times of day it is apparent that the area is one of a very diverse nature. Children from different religions and cultural backgrounds attend the local primary school (Temple Primary School) with most walking to school indicating that they live locally or perhaps the economic nature of the area dictates the lack in car ownership. Children and parents appear to be from varying ethnic backgrounds (deduced from dress and languages being spoken) and there was a positive and lively feel to the way in which people were interacting on their journey to school. Generally, the area of Cheetwood appears to have been neglected and despite the 700/800 yards to the centre of Cheetham the area feels cut off and isolated from the rest of the ward.



Fig 26. A banner displayed on the gates of Temple Primary School in Cheetwood. Source – (Author, 2014)

In the final few months of the field research however some redevelopment was taking place on the Cheetwood Centre and to some of the local housing stock. Some of the housing were undergoing some low-level interventions with doors and garden fences/gates being replaced. The Cheetwood Centre that was used infrequently, apart from the food bank provision, is now undergoing a scheme of works conducive for community groups to meet and make good the new place/space that was being developed. The centre will be open in 2016. Having observed

the physical neglect in the area over some years there is now a different aesthetic feel through the low-level interventions to old housing stock, building of new houses and investment in some of the cultural capital such as the Cheetwood Centre.

Contributing also thematically to the third research question the focus here is on the evidence found surrounding the diverse community assets and their role in the sustainability and development of Cheetham. Along with faith groups, there is a large and diverse range of groups that work co-operatively and collaboratively with one another. For example, Cheetham has an extremely diverse cultural offering in terms of the food and non-food retail sectors that adds economic and social vibrancy to the area. The retail elements of Cheetham can really be split into two areas. Firstly, towards the south of Cheetham Hill Road there are many South Asian stores which include take-away, general stores and fruit and vegetable stores – this area however has witnessed the development of the Forts Retail Park that provides more of a global offering of high street chains. The second area for retail is on the northern part of Cheetham Hill Road where there is a substantial proportion of cultural and non-cultural retail shops. This area includes chain stores which seem to evolve around the Cheetham Hill Shopping Centre. The area does however, in more recent years, accommodate more Eastern European shops and this area, as alluded to already, is currently witnessing an increase in the presence of Middle Eastern influences. The images below exemplify this.



Fig 27 South Asian banqueting hall
(South Cheetham Hill Road)

Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 28 Forts retail park
(South Cheetham Hill Road)

Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 29 Takeaway outlets
(South Cheetham Hill Road)
Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 30. South Asian, Polish and American food
(South Cheetham Hill Road)
Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 31. Cultural shops / organisations
(South Cheetham Hill Road)
Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 32. Looking towards the city centre boundary
(South Cheetham Hill Road)
Source – (Author, 2014)

On diversity in Cheetham a researcher (C) at a community support and membership organisation stated, “I think it (Cheetham) is very transient as international migrants to the city seem to use it as their first port of call. It seems to have permanently been a migrant place, but I am not sure that people are really settling there as it seems to be an area of migrant churn.”

The photographs below represent some of the high street and cultural retail offerings to the north of Cheetham Hill Road.



Fig 33. Tesco development.

Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 34. Non-cultural retail shops

Source – (Author, 2014)

A council official (A) was asked about the importance of co-operative working amongst diverse community groups as there is much visual evidence and also from participant observations that there are also many faith groups operating/collaborating in Cheetham. His response was, “without all these groups and the important work they do there would be big gaps that the city council services would not be able to deliver, and that the council’s role is really to work with those groups and support where they can if appropriate.

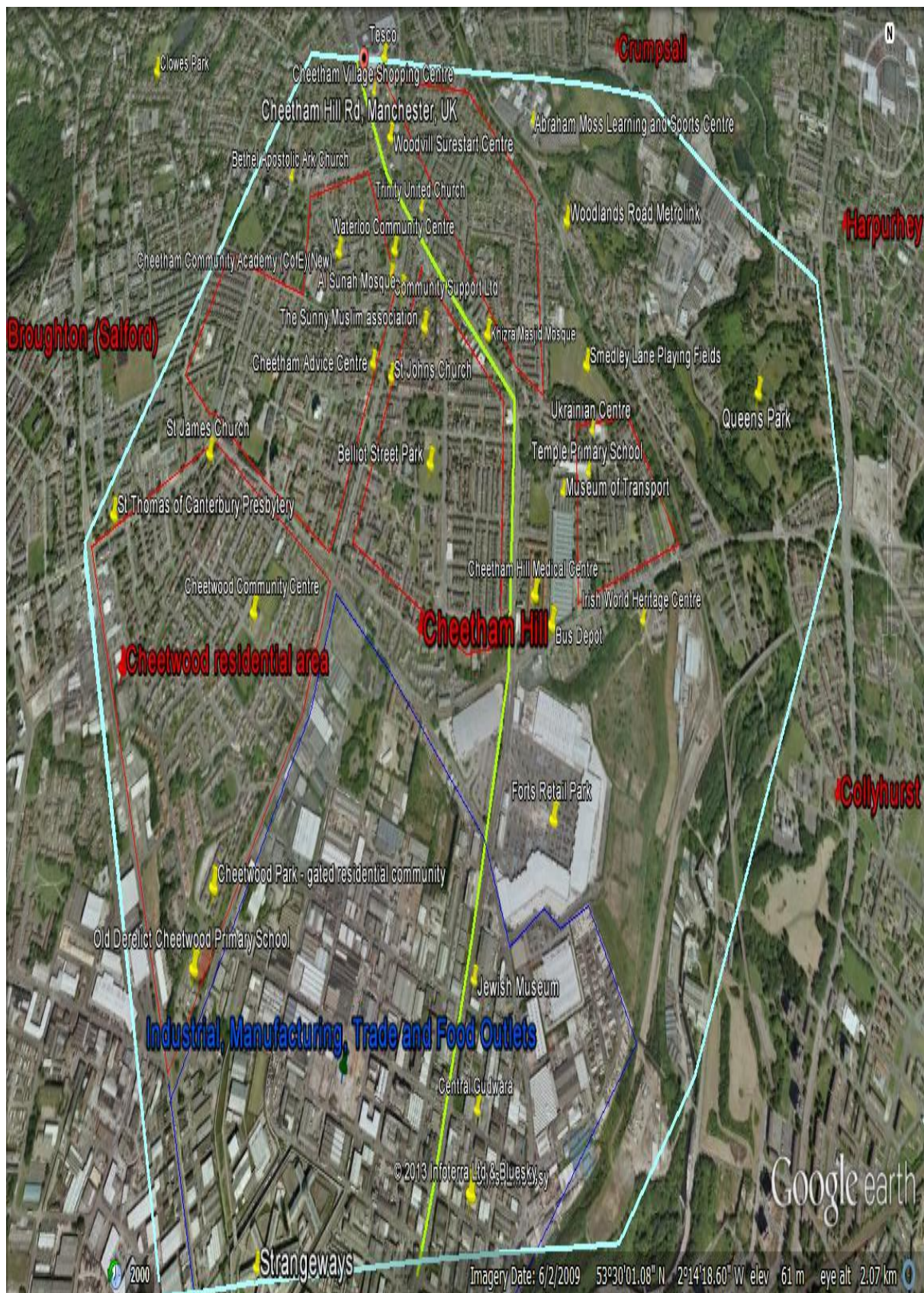


Fig 35. Community assets mapped in Cheetham – most are in the north of the ward. Source – (Author, 2015)

One such example is the Wai Yin Chinese women's community in Manchester who have diversified and been successful. They have a project ongoing with Somali women and this would perhaps not be expected that a Chinese women's association would be working with a group of Somali women but there is strong project working alongside key organisation in Cheetham. This seems to contribute to solidifying their position through commitment to the area. Within Cheetham Hill there is a bit more coordination and collaboration between diverse groups. The Ukrainian Centre that houses Wai Yin is a community asset in bringing people together from the voluntary and community sector groups.

It is estimated by the Office of National Statistics (2010) that in 2007, "over half of Cheetham's population belonged to a non-White ethnic group". The ONS (2011) also report that "The Pakistani community was the largest of all non-White ethnic populations, making up 26.0% of Cheetham's total population. 'Other' ethnic groups make up 9.1% of Cheetham's population, with 5.2% of the population from 'Mixed' backgrounds. There are also significant Indian and Black African populations, at 4.6% and 4.0% respectively. 3.1% of Cheetham's population is Chinese, 1.7% is Black Caribbean and 0.4% is Bangladeshi." These figures reported in 2011 do not consider the growing population of the Middle Eastern population of Cheetham as found in this research. Participant observations have uncovered physical evidence of retail and cultural offerings of Middle Eastern influence. This evidence came in the form of Middle Eastern take aways, restaurants and grocery shops which were found at the top and at the bottom of Cheetham Hill Road.

It appears that there is a strong, close knit and diverse community in Cheetham, but it needs some investment and financial support. One particular faith group representative and key decision maker for the organisation, referred to as respondent (H) was quoted as saying on the level of support they receive, "It's never enough but I think that is the nature of this sector and there is only so much you can do with a limited budget in trying to reach all the people that you would want to. At our venue, we have no marketing budget, so the council do help, and I think with this particular community it is a great example of how successful immigrants and refugees can be and what they contribute to the city and how they can be an example to other minority communities of what can be achieved."



Fig 36. The Ukrainian Centre



Fig 37. Irish World Heritage Centre

Sources 27 to 31 – Source (Author 2014)

At the same time however, the diversity in this ward could also potentially be a problem as with over fifty languages spoken opening access to, and delivering, services could also be affected. Some participants did discuss how they thought that some of the relationships between the three sectors and differing faith ethnic and cultural groups could be developed further. Perhaps this is due to the number of languages spoken and cultural identity that have prevented this from developing. A local researcher for a think tank organisation commented , “It’s the change that is the problem where people are not used to that kind of diversity so that is where some tension comes from.” Experiences in Cheetham however have identified that there are not just Asian and Afro Caribbean groups (as is the perception) but there are Irish, Eastern European and Middle Eastern communities and it is felt that these different groups and are very tolerant of each other because of the diversity.

New York’s deputy mayor for housing, Alicia Glen, discusses that the “strength of a city is in its diversity” (Murray 2014:43). In this article, she says that on “the ultimate strength of cities is their diversity. If you don’t support the diversity of the people, places and industries you really are undermining the whole point of what makes cities great.”

4.5.4 Impacts of recession and austerity

In communities such as Cheetham and others in the city-region it is recognised that in terms of employment there is a skills gap to get people into employment. With a move to becoming a digital arena the city-region does not appear to have the skills to service it – higher than average unemployment rates in areas such as Cheetham are evidence of this. Up skilling is an idea supported by all sectors as Manchester and Salford attempt to raise aspirations of their residents through investment in schools, FE and HE institutions.

Despite a thriving retail hub, unemployment figures are above the national average in the ward – a trend across much of the city-region. Manchester City Council state “that Jobseekers allowance claims in September 2011 was at 6.4% and that this had risen quite dramatically since spring of that year from 5.4%”. Possibly as an early result of recession and austerity measures? There are also some worrying trends in terms of the levels of incapacity benefits and support allowances paid to residents within Cheetham. The combined number of claimants for these two benefits is over three thousand in Cheetham and it would seem safe to assume that many of these people are not within reach of the labour market in Greater Manchester and locally. With recession and austerity hitting hard it could also be safe to assume perhaps that these figures will not reduce any time soon.

Another worrying statistic provided by the city council regards the education of young people in the city-region. The city council (2012) states that “compared to Greater Manchester pupils at Key Stage 2 attaining Maths, English and Science in Greater Manchester pupils in Cheetham do not perform as well. Further on in their education the results are similar as the city council also state that only 59.7% of pupils in Cheetham attain 5 GCSE’s (Grade A-C) which compares to a figure of 71.2% across Greater Manchester”. The worry here is that there could be a cyclical trend that relates to poorer education, lower employment chances and social and economic deprivation. This consideration is important to this thesis as it contributes to the debate of what is equitable, fair and just in the city region and in all communities.

In trying to examine the support organisations within Cheetham (as community assets) to support these inequalities observations were carried out in/near the Waterloo Center (fig 38 below) and the Cheetham Hill Advice Centre (fig.39 below) The reason for choosing this

location was to see the numbers of people accessing the services, the level of need and to ascertain what services they were enquiring about. These two organisations are two of three buildings near each on the outskirts of the centre of Cheetham (towards Cheetwood) located behind Northwood Housing.



Fig 38. The Waterloo Centre



Fig 39. Cheetham Hill Advice Centre



Fig 40. Community support Ltd no longer functioning

Cheetham Hill Advice Centre was established in 1977 as an independent community advice center. They provide “confidential help, advice and support to local residents in Cheetham and Crumpsall and across Manchester. This is advice on a wide range of subjects including: Welfare Benefits: Money & Debt: Housing/Homelessness: Consumer and employment problems: getting into work: Access to adult learning, training and volunteering: Immigration/Nationality issues (registered with OISC to provide Level 1 advice): Access to Education, Health and other statutory services: Information about other local services and opportunities”. The advice centre states that they are “providing residents with clear and comprehensive advice and support, we empower them to make their own choices and decisions about their lives, to bring about lasting change and improvements in their standard of living and general health and wellbeing” (CHAC, 2015:1).

Whilst one organisation, Community Support Limited (fig.40 above), was no longer operating, the two other organisations that were open were observed regularly on field visits. The aim here however was not to focus on the quantitative detail but was to give the researcher a feel or a sense of the services available and see if on the face of it they were being accessed relatively frequently. Incidentally these were two organisations that were originally contacted regarding potential participation in the study. As no response was received from initial communications it was decided that no direct contact would be made without invitation. This was a challenge for this research as it prevents confirmation / contradiction of what typical services are accessed and by how much that were obtained by the observations.

The short observations concluded that most activity in and out of the advice centre was on a Monday. It was interesting to note that a similar pattern was obtained at the Waterloo Centre with access on a Monday far outweighing those numbers entering on other days. Would this perhaps imply that people are more in crisis after the weekend? Although direct contact was not being made the researcher entered the buildings to see if there were any notice boards or leaflet stands advertising any services. It was noticed that most literature (one notice board in the Cheetham Hill Advice Centre and a board and display table in the Waterloo Centre) were mainly pertaining to benefits, housing, immigration support, employment and training in both centres. These findings correlate with some of the feedback received from other participant about some of the main issues that need to be addressed in urban renewal processes in Cheetham.

The images below represent some of the other community assets in Cheetham that have recently undergone redevelopment and that are important in the way in which Cheetham operates. One of these assets is the community leisure facility, the Abraham Moss Leisure Centre site in Cheetham. This site is a community learning and leisure zone that houses a library, community school and recently upgraded state of the art sports facilities. This area was chosen for participant observations as it represents a community hub that is a 5-minute walk from the centre of Cheetham and was previously only feasibly accessible by public transport on the bus. Now a new metrolink stop has opened access to Cheetham centre for commuters and residents.



Fig 41. The shared library building
Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 42. Abraham Moss district centres.
Source – (Author, 2014)



Fig 43. Abraham Moss District Centre
Source – (Author, 2015)



Fig 44. The new metrolink stop for Cheetham
Source – (Author, 2015)

Transport, in the form of a new metro link stop within Cheetham has opened access and opportunities for people living inside and outside of the ward. The physical changes to Cheetham such as low-level interventions on housing estates, improved transport links (Queens Road Metrolink) and a growth in the boundaries of retailing have all contributed in the social and economic development of this distressed ward. There is also however evidence of unequal investment in transport highlighted by the isolated community of Cheetwood within Cheetham.

The Abraham Moss Leisure facility was an area familiar to the researcher, having accessed some of its services whilst living in Cheetham, and it was felt that previously the leisure centre was a little isolated from the main economic and transport hub of Cheetham Hill Road. In December 2013 however, the building of a new metrolink stop outside the centre was designed to provide better connectivity (to the leisure centre and the centre of Cheetham) from people in and around Greater Manchester and within the ward itself (as there are two other stops in the Cheetham boundary – Woodlands Road (15-minute walk to centre of Cheetham) and Crumpsall (15-minute walk to centre of Cheetham)).

Observations conducted in the research revealed a mix of commuters – some using the leisure centre more during the day and most commuters between 8am and 10am bypassing the leisure

centre towards the hub of Cheetham. Again, there were some limitations to this observation such as they were on visual observations designed to see certain dynamics at play in the community. Whilst these results are perhaps not surprising, they are perhaps indicative of the economic and leisure activity that has occurred because of physical investment in the transport infrastructure.

4.5.5 Summary comments

Some of the interviewees spoke of an area where they described relationships in the economically and socially challenged environments as quite good. They also recognised that the diverse and transient nature of the population had positive outcomes for the area in terms of having a culturally cohesive dynamic and acceptance to difference and belonging. Perhaps the long tradition of migration into Cheetham has allowed this to happen. The extent of outcomes and relationships has been presented here along with any influencing factors that can be identified. It is clear from the findings that there has been a context setting negative of recession and austerity throughout. Outcomes in social, economic and political landscapes have been focused upon. In terms of thinking about the findings for the third research question which examines outcomes and influencing phenomenon in Cheetham Hill it is fair to say that the overriding impression is one of the negative effects that recession and austerity has had. There has been evidence of strong, diverse and new community relationships along with a willingness to work on a co-operative basis in some areas of development. Coupled with this appears to be a strong leadership framework in the city region that has wider political influence that may be enhanced with the devolution of Greater Manchester to a city region. Amongst these success stories however are the complexities of deciding what is right and how these impact upon decision makers in the three sectors.

Having presented some of the evidence it is useful here to attempt to frame this in the context of the main thread of the research – trying to make sense of the just city concept through the co-operative city concept. In terms of the evidence found relating to diversity, democracy, equity and co-operative working – suggestions and criterion that were discussed in the literature review chapter when discussing what a just city looks like. In addition to evidencing Fainstein's criterion this research adds co-operative working as one of the criteria to add to these for examination. The table below reflects what this research has found in terms of the criterion

found across the three different sectors. Where an X is inserted this confirms evidence has been found representative of the criterion in that sector.

	Private Sector	Public Sector	3 rd Sector
Diversity	x	X	x
Democracy		X	x
Equity			x
Co-operation	x	x	x

Table 4. Cheetham – evidencing justice criterion in Cheetham three sectors

This table illustrates that diversity and co-operation are strengths across all sectors and that democratic processes are evident across the public and third sector. The criterion with the weakest representation is equity with the only notable evidence in the third sector. This same exercise will be conducted again when looking at Broughton to help demonstrate and reference how the just city could be thought about. Diversity and co-operative working are strongly evident in Cheetham despite the difficulties in management, leadership and the pressures of recession and austerity. This is interesting as these criteria have emerged in unstable economic and social conditions and offer an alternative to looking at global cities in more stable conditions. The locality of Broughton will be examined in the next section in the same manner as with Cheetham. There is also a summary of the findings from this case for Cheetham (1) along with case for Broughton (2) on page 197 which will serve as a precursor to the synthesis chapter.

Case 2 - Broughton, Salford

“Salford has turned the corner and confidence is high and it is reassuring that the physical aspect of regeneration is being matched by opportunities for existing residents and newcomers” (John Merry, Leader Salford City Council, 2010)

4.6 Broughton - Introduction

As was the case with the previous section concerning Cheetham the remainder of this chapter will provide the empirical evidence required and will again be presented in a manner that illustrates the emergent themes that have been discovered when answering the core research questions. These questions are found below:

1. What are the processes and relationships employed in urban renewal in cities and in particular Manchester and Salford?
2. How are they managed and who is involved?
3. What are the resultant outcomes and contributing factors?

This section will provide a narrative containing a demographic overview of the ward of Broughton along with some participant observations conducted by the researcher to provide some additional evidence. This will be intertwined with more detailed evidence of the core research questions through the semi-structured interviews with elites and key decision makers in the locality and wider region. This evidence for Broughton, along with that presented earlier in this chapter for Cheetham, will provide an opportunity for the combined synthesis of the themes emergent from research from both locations later in the thesis (chapter five). As with the section on Broughton there will also be findings presented that relate to the wider area of the city-region.

These themes for Broughton (Case 2) include the way in which economic development is at the heart of renewal agenda's particularly through housing led renewal, similar to Manchester. This is studied partly through and examination of the New Broughton Village development in terms of property-led economic regeneration. The themes also demonstrate how different sectors and organisations work co-operatively and the stronger nature of the relationships in

the three sectors compared with Cheetham. These themes help answer core research question one. Further themes that assist in answering research question two are related to how the relationships and processes are managed and the different attitudes that there are to leadership and place making. This is combined with discussion about the joined-up approaches taken in these processes and culminates with a focus upon Salford as a co-operative city. These findings are presented along with, to help in answering core research question three, the outcomes from the impacts of recession and austerity. There is also a focus upon the community's assets that are part of the infrastructure in Salford and that act as a positive contributing factor in urban renewal processes in Broughton.

4.7 Demographics

Broughton is a ward that lies within the north-eastern part of the Salford in the city-region of Greater Manchester (see figure 45 on next page). This ward has been chosen as it sits next to the ward of Cheetham and has a cross-border constituency with Cheetham. It is also a place where this researcher spent eight years working in the neighbouring ward of Pendleton and lived in the neighbouring ward Prestwich for four years. This lived experience of both Cheetham and Broughton has helped develop some of the initial ideas and interest in this research. These localities were an intentional choice designed to examine how different councils design, manage and implement urban renewal processes in the same city region. It also provided an opportunity to investigate comparative levels of involvement, influences and impacts upon urban renewal processes in two distressed locations.

The maps below illustrate Salford's geographical location in relation to Greater Manchester, the North West of England and the United Kingdom. As has been explained in the last section (Case 1), Broughton's boundary with Cheetham is important to this work as it facilitates a cross examination of two wards next to each other and if there is any evidence of collaborative and co-operative working practices between them.

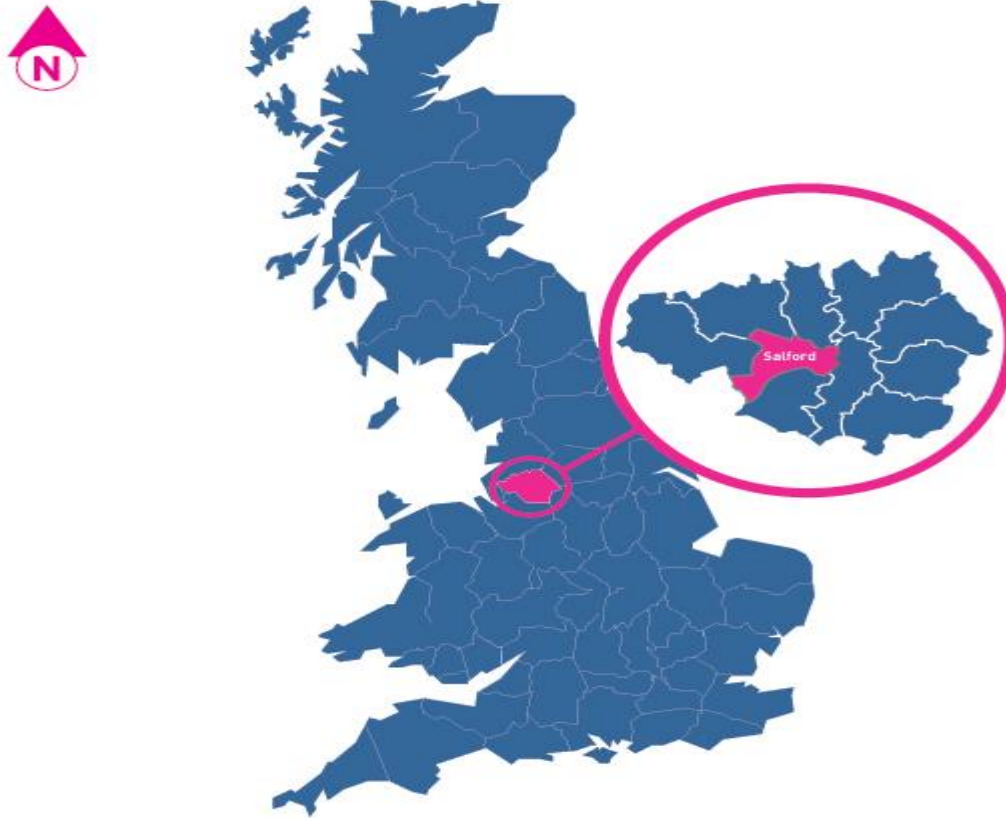


Fig 45. Salford in the N/West of England and in the context of the Greater Manchester 10 Combined Authorities



Fig 46. Salford Ward Map – Broughton to the east of the city where it borders Cheetham.

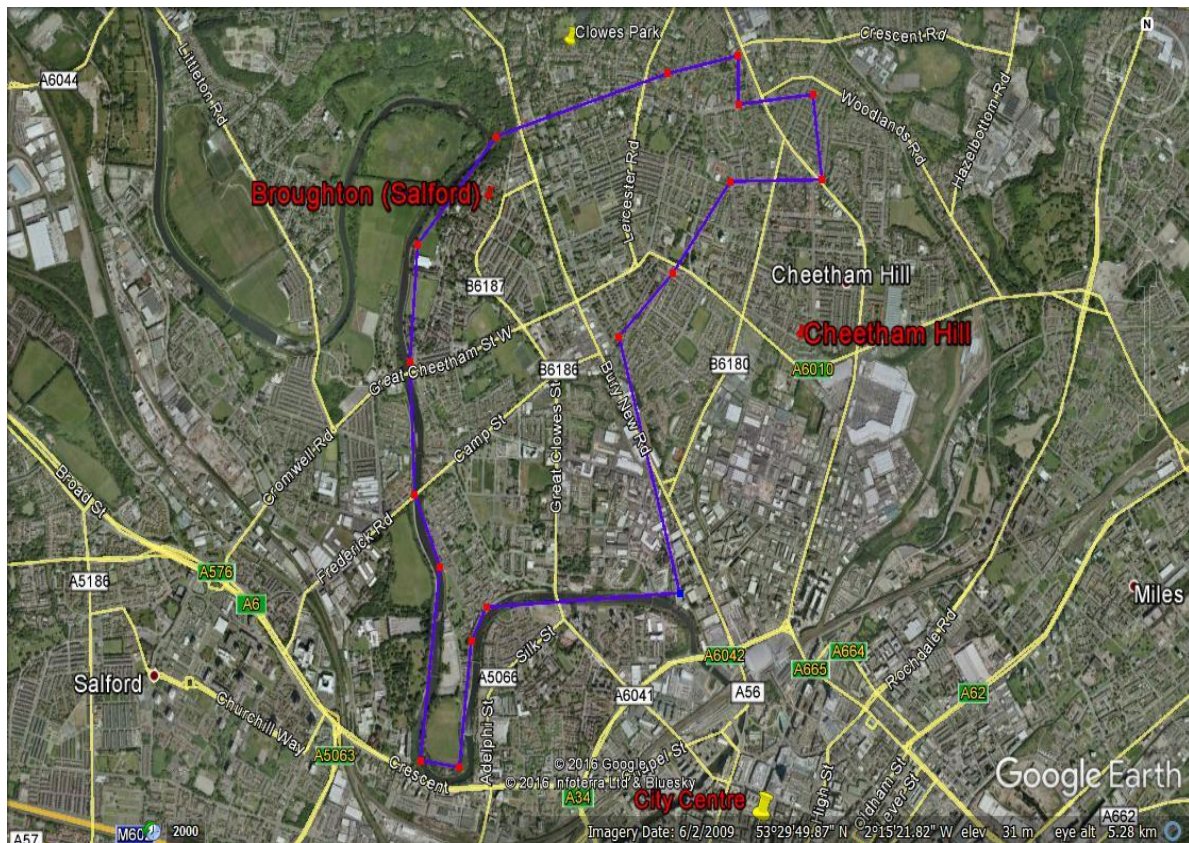


Fig 47. Ward map of Broughton in the context of Cheetham and Manchester city centre. Source – Author (2012)

The city of Salford has its administrative headquarters at the Swinton Civic Center. There are seven local political seats in the ward of Blackley and Broughton with all of them being held currently by Labour councillors. The current MP is Graham Stringer, first representing Manchester Blackley since 1997. The City of Manchester wards of Higher Blackley, Harpurhey, Crumpsall, Cheetham, Charlestown, and the City of Salford wards of Kersal and Broughton make up this constituency. This seat is a cross-border constituency with electoral wards from Salford City Council and Manchester City Council. This is the only seat other than cities of Westminster and London in Central London that covers two cities, Manchester and Salford and allows for some interesting analysis of how these two cities operate together in this unique instance. The question of where the centre of Salford differs upon who you speak to. For some it is the civic centre, for others it is the Chapel Street area that borders Manchester City Centre but for most Salfordians they view The Precinct at Pendleton to be it. The notion of identity is explored later in this chapter. As an outsider this researcher, maybe biased by a time spent working there, feels that the precinct was the heart/center of Salford.

In 2015 Broughton was ranked number one in the city of Salford's wards on the Indices of Multiple Deprivation. Figure 48 below shows the Super Output Area (SOA) lower level data for Salford. Salford is "12th in the top 10% of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the UK" (Salford Star, 2015).

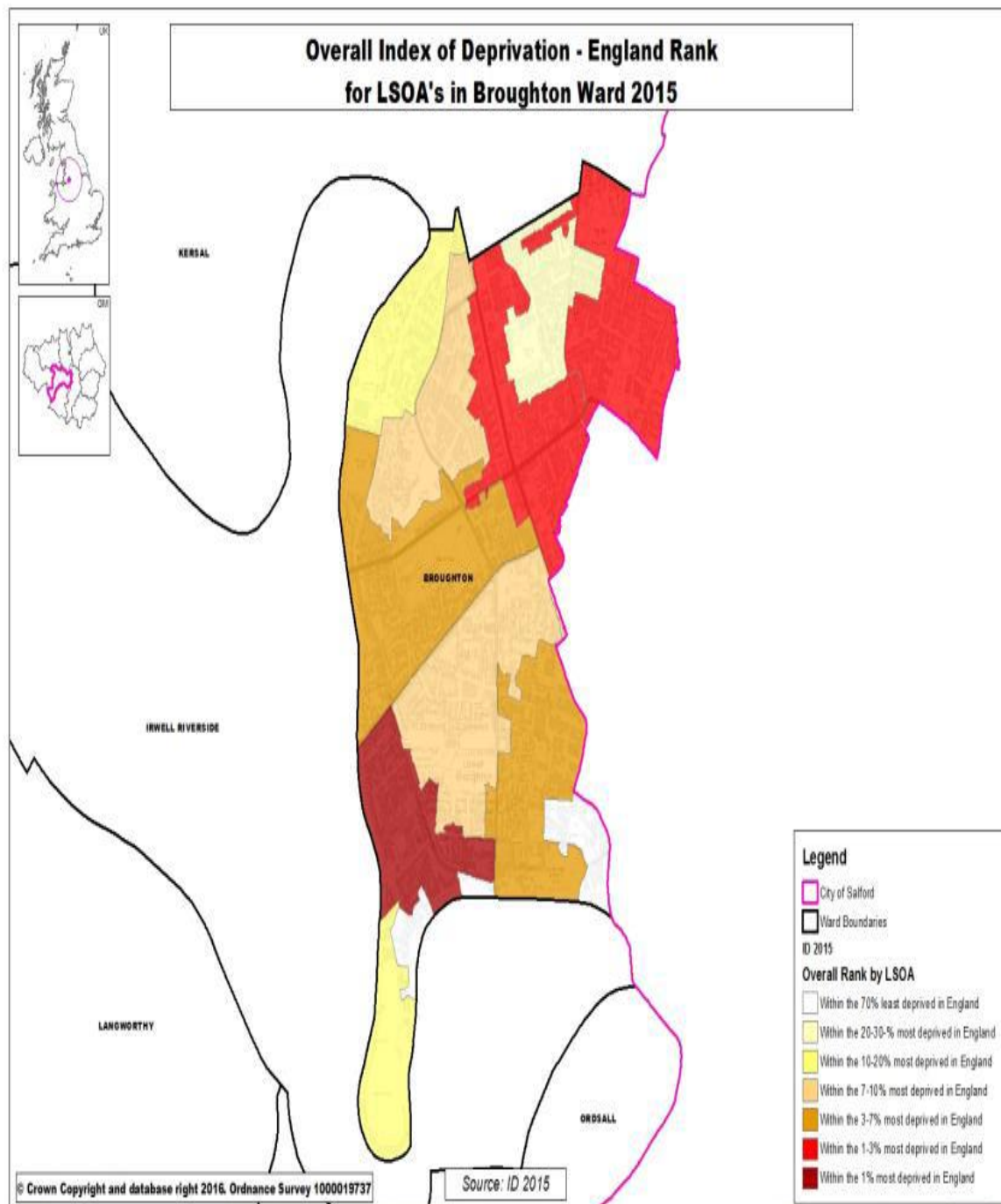


Figure 48. Index of Deprivation for Broughton. Source - Department for Communities and Local Government (2015)

4.8 RQ1 – What are the processes and relationships in urban renewal in cities, in particular Manchester and Salford.

4.8.1 Economic driven placemaking strategy with social value

The first of the emergent themes discussed here are in terms of the relationships and processes involved in urban renewal in Broughton. Driven by an economic focus, Broughton uses property-led regeneration to improve the community's social and economic development. What is interesting about Broughton are the stronger links that the community and voluntary sector have with the public and private sector – culminating in some strong evidence of co-operative working.

“A government’s responsibility is to look after its people and all people have the right to a job; a job is the common denominator for a system to work. I want to come away from Thatcherism and the emphasis on the private sector and what it wants. It’s not trickling down so what’s the point in having a government if we can’t address that.” (Salford Politician, 2012)

In the last decade Salford has invested significant amounts of money in trying to create employment for its growing population along with housing, health and education provision. They have done this by trying to maximise the potential of its location in the city-region including focusing on its green space and waterways. Not all of these have worked however. It is fair to say though that the city has also used the City of Manchester as part of this focus, encouraging people to move into new homes in Salford just a mile from the city center of Manchester. Because of these strategies, the council hope that more people will choose Salford as a place to invest in, visit as a tourist destination, live in and work. Initial findings suggest that is the case.

Dealing with recession and austerity within this drive has seen the various plans, frameworks and visions come together to provide a fresh approach to how urban renewal is delivered. One of the ways Salford hopes to deliver this vision is through its Salford 2025 Strategy. This is clearly part of the drive to add to the city-region economic growth agenda in which it commits to creating sustainable communities and transforming various parts of Salford by creating jobs – economic driven development is clearly at the heart of Salford’s renewal agenda.

Innovation and working in partnerships working are evident and contribute to the increased economic prosperity, economic growth and competitiveness of Salford and in the context of the city-region. As part of the Northern Powerhouse, it is an integral player in Greater Manchester's ambitious growth and devolution agenda. The Office for National Statistics (2011) state that population growth in Salford is expected to be higher than the Greater Manchester, North West and national averages up to and including 2025. Economic forecasts predict the same upward trend. According to the Greater Manchester Forecasting Model (2012:1), "the number of forecast jobs will outstrip the forecasts for Greater Manchester, the region and UK as a whole". With the growth there will be new challenges for Salford though as the gaps in equality could potentially grow because of this.

It is clear however that this transformation is likely to be achieved by stimulating further growth by strengthening its economic base. In terms of policy on a local scale for Broughton, the Strategy for North Manchester 2012-2027 led by the Higher Broughton Partnership (formed between In-partnership, the Royal Bank of Scotland, City Spirit and Salford City Council), was part of the Manchester City Pride and Excellence in Cities initiatives. Manchester/Salford Pathfinder was formed as part of the Housing Market Renewal incorporating the Higher Broughton Housing Project to lead regeneration of the area. These housing-led regeneration projects will come under scrutiny in this chapter.

Thinking about how to do all this (deliver the urban renewal frameworks) the notion of place making has emerged as part of the findings. The council seems intent on place making and there is an opportunity to encourage the diverse population to remain and create sustainable communities for new arrivals to the city. Investment in housing and schools, and green space seem to be the ways in which this is approached. All of this is evident in Broughton. Within the research there also seemed to be a desire to connect the places where people live to economic opportunity by forming a public transport network fit for connecting people with city-wide education, training and employment opportunities. This is hoped will stimulate ambition and drive amongst communities and the council see themselves as the backbone or the 'enabling local authority' to make this happen.

Salford will work, according to the GMCA (2013) "with Manchester to grow a shared Regional Centre and further strengthen Greater Manchester's position as the area outside of London most likely to be able to increase its long-term growth rate, to access international networks and

enjoy strong connections to the rest of the world”. This work argues that this agenda can only be delivered through equal, democratic and diverse collaborations, co-operation– including co-operative working between local government, the private sector and the community and voluntary sector.

The way in which the above ideologies are reflected in the focus for economic driven policy in Salford and Manchester are very evident through the responses of the participants throughout this work. Of note on this, have been the thoughts of a senior council official (E) who commented upon the strategic management that the city-region has required by stating “Well I think for the last 20 years the biggest driver has been the need to grow the private sector economy and create private sector jobs”.

“In 1984, we, me, the council, still had a sort of, ultimately, a paternalistic view of municipal socialism. That we would be the solution to every problem of everything to every citizen that exists (chuckles) and well I think in the intervening period certainly the economic reality has been a long way from that.”

Part of the need for growth and development has arisen from the deindustrialisation of both Manchester and Salford. Salford suffered during the decline of the Manchester Docks, which has been recently revitalised, with the construction of Salford Quays and the development of Media City. Because of the downturn prior to this, the area suffered from massive unemployment and associated social issues. Since the late part of the 1980s job creating growth has been a priority and over the last decade skills mismatch has become a greater issue. This has become evident with the new digital economies descending upon Salford Quays that the local population cannot keep pace with in terms of the skills they have to offer. Although there is a skills mismatch this has diminished, and it is the up-skilling of the population to benefit from the sort of growth that is to be expected to be had from the economy that is urgently required. During the interviews it was clear that from a city-region perspective (to include Salford) that increasing average earnings of Manchester residents so that local people benefit from growth that is created was part of an employment strategy within the larger frameworks.

Increasing these earnings however is difficult in current economic conditions so making the city-region a more attractive place to work and live is paramount to Salford and Manchester objectives. In terms of how best to create this senior council official (E) stated, “I think we

have become far more aware of place making, so that's neighbourhoods where, neighbourhoods of choice, is actually how we term it. You know places where people want to live and clearly, we want to encourage people to stay within the city which we have done very successfully given that our population grew by 19% over the last 10 years. If I was to compare now to 1984 it has now gone to the name of public service reform but one way or another we have been at this for or trying to dig into what we need to do, for the last 10 years."

The long-term strategies required are recognised here and perhaps the way in which the ten local authorities in the city-region have worked for many years may aid this process or indeed hinder this if these processes are not democratic. The notion of leadership and the fact that nine out of the ten authorities are Labour controlled have affected this. So, within this ten-year city-wide approach there are numerous relationships and processes that have tried to make this work.

Attempting to evidence this, starting at a city scale, a Salford Council senior management official (F) was asked about how the relationships between the three sectors are in urban renewal in Salford. The response from (F) started by saying

"I think they are strong and strengthening and that's probably a response to the cuts. So, people in the authorities and institutions who in the past would have thought 'well that's not my responsibility that someone else's' we now have the opportunity to jointly deliver things to save on the cost."

This is extremely interesting because as with Cheetham there appears the ability, through necessity, for people to work co-operatively and collaboratively together. These seem to be opportunities that would not have presented themselves in more stable conditions. Substantiating this is the opinion a key decision maker at a charitable training organisation claimed,

"I think we have good partnerships, not sure about relationships, but I think that Salford, not just for the last 5/6 years, has been moving towards a more co-operative city – before the elected mayor."

Related to where investment was now going to come from and be spent there were also questions being raised within the council about why special funding was being set up for Central Salford and not the wider area of Salford. The two parts of the borough are very

different as the Central Salford area, for a lot of people, do not know where the boundary is between Manchester and Salford and it is all just seen as Manchester. Approaching these differences still appear to be about delivering economic growth as more attention is starting to be paid to the wider borough in this respect – not just the high-profile developments such as Media City, Greengate or Vimto Gardens. This does also however raise an issue over identity.

As alluded to on the previous page there have been questions that have arisen in terms of individual and group identity. Resident's identity to the physical neighbourhood and the city provide a way of examining if people have flexible identities. For example, there is a regional and inter-regional context to the way in which people in Salford identify with each other on a local and a larger scale. There have been conflicting pressures of the city growth agenda and local communities that have caused some concern to local residents and political representatives. Whilst civic pride is evident in both Salford and Manchester there are clear visible and invisible boundaries. Information collected from interview respondents discussed the idea that the nearer to the currently being developed area of Salford Central (next to Manchester City centre) the more likely individuals are to view Salford centre as this area but at the same time class themselves as living in Manchester. However, to an older generation of Salfordian there is a clear identity of where the centre which would be The Precinct or to some Chapel Street. This is an interesting perspective on how people view themselves geographically and politically. Urban renewal processes have a responsibility to protect local residents and their perceptions of community and identity despite the never-ending drive for economically active communities.

Thinking about geographical boundaries and the impact of the city-region concept upon Salford on respondent (J) stated "People in Salford are very proud of Salford. It has been quite a bit of a challenge in getting that message across. East Salford is actually part of the city centre and visitors from Europe just see that as Manchester." Putting this in to context there was a case in 2011 where the University of Salford carried out a branding exercise as Salford University 'part of Manchester'. It did not last very long but there is also an international property development company, the Carlisle Group who bought the old Colgate / Palmolive factory and have branded it the Soapworks project and on their marketing material they promote it as Soapworks - The Key to Manchester. These debates keep appearing when looking at the processes of renewal in Salford and how they are managed.

4.8.2 Co-operative working, partnerships and collaboration

Involved in the economic-driven policies in the city-region and in the locality of Salford are many actors and stakeholders. The way in which these relationships and processes are managed differs. There is however a common drive by the different sectors to make progress in developing the city in a more co-operative fashion. A senior Manchester City Council official (E), talked about how all members of all communities can positively contribute and be affected by the economic strategies in the city-region within the devolution agenda. This was focused upon targeting troubled or hard to reach families and worklessness as being part of the solution. “I would have talked 10 years ago to a director of children’s services about how we could reach those impossible to reach families. To some extent programmes like New Deal in the Labour Government did actually sort of hover up some of the, if you like, low hanging fruit, which was most people, but what was left behind was people who were just untouched by that, but we are now ‘touching’ and getting through to those almost impossible to reach families.”

To achieve this, it is working across public sector boundaries and getting a range of organisations trying together to achieve the same goal will help do this but how that message is purveyed and received is difficult.

“It is about being assertive and saying, ‘you will engage. Evidence suggests that this has been about using communities, powerful, influential and respected people in communities to be part of the process of using placed-based solutions. Suggestion has been that these are the people who bring the various players together to work in a coordinated way and co-operative way.”
(Senior Manchester Council Official)

Considering ‘means and ends’ in terms of social justice sometimes the priorities in decision making come from what the objectives are of a particular strategy or project. If the objective is to build stronger neighbourhoods, stronger communities, more independent people in those communities and resilient people within those communities then a new approach should be adopted in setting these priorities. Public service reform should be able to accommodate the organisational requirements of the public, private or the voluntary sector so that these sectors can organise their activities around what needs to be done in a particular neighbourhood. This ideology requires organisations to stop thinking about contractual relationships and start

thinking about partnerships, collaboration, co-operation and different sorts of ways of working.” (E) commented on this very point by stating

“In terms of public service reform agenda, no matter what sector that you are in, you are going to have to work in a different way.”

This thesis will argue that this different way of working is a co-operative by nature and that different local authorities are already doing this to varying degrees. The results have thrown up the notion of ‘cooperative working’ in both research sites when looking at the relationships and processes in urban renewal – but more so in Salford. Whilst evidence is quite strong in Salford of this way of working (and they recognise this) Manchester also displays characteristics of a cooperative city. This is interesting and is the thread for this study as it provides another way of looking at criteria for justice. Despite this alternative co-operative way of working, community and voluntary organisations are continually asked to prove their worth and discussion has looked at how small organisations are able/unable to measure their success and provide a cost-benefit analysis of what they do. With dwindling funding and pressure on resources the number of CVS organisations have dropped in some parts of the city but in Cheetham and Broughton there is evidence of organic growth of these types of small CVS organisations as part of a co-operative network of organisations. These relationships have come about through organic growth, mainly in cultural organisations, as opposed to specific ‘place-making’ policies.

“The voluntary sector is a far more complex beast. It’s not a sector for a start.”

Considering the role of the CVS in evidencing co-operative working the statement above makes co-operative working a difficult proposition between the public and voluntary sector. The statement made by a senior Manchester City council official was followed by substantiating the claim by talking about national charities like Barnardo’s who as well as their own work conducting large-scale contract work for authorities, through to very small voluntary organisations and other local community organisations. It was insinuated that for the bulk of the smaller organisations what happens at a Greater Manchester level is really irrelevant and that it is what happens at a neighbourhood level that will vary from place to place that is important. Currently there is not a broad approach to supporting neighbourhood community organisations across Greater Manchester. (E) also said that he felt that in Manchester itself, the

city of Manchester, there are structures including council funding support organisations to try and build capacity within the voluntary sector. Interestingly (E) said “But again one of the things about regeneration and economic development is that you have to do the right things at the right spatial level. There is not a single right spatial level that would be; if you’re doing metrolink the right spatial level is Greater Manchester. For community involvement, it’s going to be neighbourhood.”

4.9 RQ2 – How are they managed and who is involved?

4.9.1 Cross-sector relationships and leadership – state, market and civil society

The themes presented here assist in answering research question two and are related to how the relationships and processes, alluded to above, are managed and approached. Interestingly for Salford and Broughton there are different attitudes to leadership, democracy and place making other than those found in Manchester and from representatives of the city-region. The way in which the processes and relationships are joined-up appears to focus upon Salford as a co-operative city and results in stronger cross-sector relationships than those found in Cheetham – or at very least they are less fragile. This is perhaps because there is already a focus upon partnerships and not contracts. Evidence of this is found through Salford’s ‘Social Charter’ and the nature in which the councils co-operate in this cross-border constituency with Cheetham is encouraging. Salford Council appear to incorporate this supportive working environment with the launch of the Salford Social Charter whereby local organisations from all three sectors make a pledge to put something back into the city. The idea here seems to be the management of strategic frameworks be based around social value partnerships.

The dynamics at play in terms of the nature of strategies, processes, ideologies, managing approaches and relationships in the city-region are complex. The complexities of these relationships at a strategic level were examined through interviewing a senior manager (F) from Salford Council. (F) responded to being asked how this was all managed strategically by replying, “The reason I hesitated when you asked about how things are cascaded down the organisation sort of implies that there is a real top down approach and very often I find that there is almost a flotilla of institutions and organisations that are doing something” and

“the role of the council is not to say, ‘you shall do this’ but actually making those linkages and putting people in touch with others you get some extra value from it. So, it is more about co-ordinating than imposing.”

This view is somewhat different from the senior council official in Manchester who advocated a more assertive approach to engagement. The relationship between Manchester and Salford however appears historically to be a good relationship with collaborative and co-operative working at the Greater Manchester level. One of the big projects for Manchester, Salford and Trafford at the moment, that would exemplify this type of working, is the Irwell River Park which has involvement from the leaderships of the local authorities at officer level providing an opportunity to join these different places together through co-operative working and cross-sector collaboration. Salford and Manchester are divided by the river Irwell and is sometimes regarded as something that divides the two cities but is in fact something that could join them – two different places but a shared space.

In terms of managing process of urban renewal it is possible to go back 35 years to the Single Regeneration Budget and other area policies of the Thatcher government to see that there is a pendulum that has swung between physical regeneration investments in neighbourhoods as against social investment. This marked the end of regeneration in its fairest sense. A political perspective from a senior official spoke of this by stating,

“The practical reality is that you need both, but you don’t necessarily need both at the same time, but you do need a structure that delivers aspects of both in a timely way”. (Senior Council Official J)

Thinking about this and where the balance of investment lies this rationale could be exemplified by the work done in the city through the refurbishment of virtually all High Schools in the city. Whilst a physical programme, it was physical investment with a social infrastructure. That is to say that it could be viewed that the refurbishments were about addressing the skills shortage issue, educational achievement and the social benefits that brings with it. This however, depends on how short, mid and long-term successes are regarded in comparison to the level of immediate need and how much of it is designed in terms of the city-wide economic development agenda.

Whilst consideration has been made above about the city-wide view on a strategic level it is interesting to consider how the relationships are managed on a more local level. There are numerous community organisations that work with the public and private sector but as has been alluded to earlier it appears difficult to bringing all these groups together. Salford however seems to buck this trend to some extent. One of the mechanisms in Salford to do this, that probably only exists in Salford, is via neighbourhood management. Every two months neighbourhood management brings the residents and the residents associations together to discuss issues in east Salford. From responses in the interviews this seems to be a real working arrangement that is very resident led. This working practice has been tested however, in terms of the local authority and their role in such initiatives.

Despite this successful mechanism there are some tensions that have emerged about the perceptions of the leadership role of the mayor in Salford, and the working relationship with some sectors or organisations. One community organisation manager (O) said, “You have got a mayor that has 94% of the executive power but does not yield it. He introduces twenty assistant mayors who have no power. We have one for international relations, but we don’t have one for employment. I think there is something seriously wrong there. Finishing this point (O) added,

“The Mayor, he’s a nice man but he takes over a city at a time when it’s going through massive cuts. So even if he wanted to, he can’t, he’s just overseeing the destruction of his city.”

There were further comments from another contributor (P) at the same organisation “If you get someone in the Civic who does not like the organisation, it almost happened when the mayor changed; you can see the work going away. So that’s the potential danger when changing personnel as it can change relationships and even to the point where people want to develop their own mates.” This is interesting as the inference here is that the organisation was once ‘mates’ with the previous Mayor and benefitted from that relationship. Now that the relationship has changed with the introduction of a new Mayor there seems to be an element of resentment. The bigger picture here relates to equity and the way in which goods and services are distributed and the role of those doing the distributing. This view of the city mayor was counteracted though a national private sector organisation director working in Salford (M) who went on to say that he thought the sectors do not see enough of Ian Stewart the Mayor but he did acknowledge that the mayor does have a presence and he works hard for the community and that there appears to be much work behind the scenes that go unrecognised as people do

not see how councils work and how officers work. What is clear from this is that professional relationships can be undermined by personal likes/dislikes of other organisations and their representatives.

One of the other key themes that emerged, as highlighted above, from the findings were these notions of leadership in managing processes and relationships. Managing this change for one senior council official (E) was simple,

“It is collaborative but it far more collaborative than beyond our own borders”

Asked about five leadership skills for helping deliver this the response was “Skills, so problem solving, analytical skills, determination. I guess there is a certain amount of diplomacy involved, something I am not best at actually.” (E) added that part of it is also talking to people that clarity of vision was also important - “If you are going to lead you need to know where you are going really. Nobody is going to follow you, well they might but you would all be lost together. So, its clarity of vision knowing where we need to go and err I guess my role is all about Manchester and a clear identification and understanding of the place.”

Asking the same official about what they think of whether they have been able to obtain social justice in the city they responded “Yes, I can give that answer with a fair amount of certainty because we started measuring this sort of stuff a long time ago. Whether its educational achievement by younger people in schools, whether its crime levels, whether it about how people feel where they live, how people feel about their neighbourhoods and by and large the city, whether it’s a social measure or an economic measure, well-being measure or even health measures (although a long way to go there) the city is a better place to live than it was 10 years ago. That is ultimately the people in the city that have done that.” This is an interesting way at looking at the just city and what this senior official, and participant in this study’s, view of the just city is. One interesting summative comment from the same official was that “The council’s values summarise its values in pride, people, place but actually pride is a precondition over everything else.” This is interesting as it raises the notion of identity and is something that does run consistently through the finding in the research and as such will be considered in the synthesis when examining alternative criteria for a just city.

As the findings here relate to the core research question (2) regarding who is involved in these urban renewal processes on a strategic local, regional and national level a political perspective

was obtained from a political elite (L) within the city of Salford. Looking to obtain a holistic and detailed view from the interviewee the interview started with the question “What inspired you to make the decision to follow a political path and move away from your current job in the private sector”. (L) responded to this by saying “A number of things really, mainly my life experiences having witnessed inequality and suffering. I grew up in Trafford and witnessed the decline of Manchester docks where my dad worked. All this made me angry, but I never set out on a political path to become an MP although I have always been politically minded”. Adding to this it was stated,

“Having looked at the information you sent the topic of creating a fairer society is ultimately the reason I wanted to become an MP. If I can make a contribution to make Salford a more fair and just city, then I think I will have done what I wanted to do.”

Attempting to explore (L)’s perceptions of how she thinks this is currently being attempted (L) was asked “How do you think the three sectors are best placed to help contribute to a more just or fairer society?”

“I would like to see the three sectors working together more co-operatively but also for the public sector to get more money to roll out more on their own.”

(L) expressed that it would be preferable to see more council money being put into social house building schemes as much of the focus is all about the private sector building affordable housing adding that “Council houses are seen as dirty words nowadays. All the physical regeneration looks great, but I am concerned about who is taking up the houses and the displacement that goes with it. There is a need to push through a diverse mix of housing schemes.” Adding,

“We need to make sure that regeneration practice creates a more diverse community and does not push people out. I think private developers should be committed to building a certain percentage of social housing of similar quality being given to the council.”

To the City of Salford and the wider city-region there are also impacts of devolution that will impact upon relationships outside of the Swinton Civic Center. The combined authorities knew there was something on the cards about the imposition of a city-mayor as part of the devolution package and there is much debate about how these powers should be distributed. The problem with an elected Mayor is that all the power is concentrated on one person as opposed to a

cabinet of the local authorities which perhaps would have been preferable with maybe an elected leader out of the ten authorities. At the moment there are some grey areas on which decisions will have to be referred to the local authorities and get them to vote. Planning is one of these areas but with a two-thirds majority on planning required there is some evidence of democracy.

The concern about the city region and devolution is considered at the moment by various stakeholders and a politician (L) representing Salford commented that “I worry we will get all the power and no money. If a Tory government is in power, and this does not work, then they will tell us ‘well we gave you the power so it’s your fault and not ours’. We don’t need any more of that.” Of concern about how democratic devolution is the people of Manchester’s knowledge about these major structural changes that will affect their lives. A recent BBC poll indicated that 17% of the local population knew what devolution of Manchester meant. Raising this concern with the politician a realistic and honest response was received by stating

“If I’m a politician and I’m only just getting my head around the city region idea then I imagine that many residents don’t care about it. People are more concerned with what is on their doorstep”.

A senior regeneration manager in Salford added to this by stating that “It is often a very difficult one to get elected members to understand it or if they do understand it for them to be able to deal with that in the context of their constituents as the constituents will be asking questions that directly relate to a particular ward where they live.”

This thesis is interested in the scale of this devolution and the research points towards a preference of regional collaborations as city regions are not enough - they are fine if you live in a city region. There is a bigger picture to consider as it needs to work for everyone. Liverpool and Manchester should not be competing against each other but should be contributing to regional strategy instead. On a local level in, the city region could be detrimental for residents and organisations in Broughton as a lot of decisions are out of local hands – this is where there should be more equity and democracy in decisions that are being made. A lot of strategic developments and resource acquisition however is being captured at the city-level and it suits the politicians and stakeholders in Manchester city center to keep it at that level. It is a potential problem trying to cascade distribution of the benefits down to communities as the local

authority will not want delivery of goods and services broken up into multiple contracts to different authorities thus excluding local organisation in the process.

People at a strategic planning city level appear to want one-piece delivery and because of that very little of the funds would get down to the ground level. One organisation in Broughton was asked about this and the role they see themselves playing in devolution they (P) stated “In terms of what we do at best we would be seen as some kind of service delivery mechanism. Even that is mediated before it gets to the community, through the colleges and big training organisations. So really it denies a great number of community organisations from playing a part strategically, even as deliverers they are marginalised.”

In Manchester the city leaders have done a lot for communities, but they have also taken a lot away. They have done a u-turn and taken away a lot of funding, support and the political belief and philosophy that they can deliver in a certain way (not just economic driven development). Salford on the other hand has tried to maintain as much as it has been able to and at least they are trying to maintain some equitable growth provision both socially and economically.

Some organisations have struggled to survive within the drive for economic development processes and this is illustrated by the substantial number of housing developments, particularly in Salford. There has been little evidence of people displacement, but the provision of affordable housing is to be examined in the context of what is affordable to the people of Salford. Whilst efforts have been made to accommodate existing residents of these communities there is a distinctive drive to attract economically active people to the area from other parts of Greater Manchester and beyond.

“You don’t build community overnight and you don’t do it just with bricks and mortar per se but if the change caused by the bricks and mortar makes something different.” (Director of a Regional Development Company, 2012)

In the lead up to the last general election it was clear by the Conservatives, and the other main parties, that they seriously wanted to look at public sector funding but then what came out of the general election was the Coalition and the Regional Development Agencies’ work. So, one source of how the Regional Regeneration Companies were funded was cut. By this time English Partnerships had become the Homes and Community Agency very much with a focus on a housing agenda and their budgets were cut also. As a result, private sector organisations found themselves unable to be sustained on council funding alone.

4.9.2 Managing urban renewal through housing led strategies

Regarding the places where the population live, in 2005 some housing stock in Broughton was raised to the ground to make way for a new housing development led by Countryside properties. This new development, the New Broughton Village, is to be completed by 2014.



Fig 49. Pre-1919 terraced housing awaiting Demolition



Fig 50. Properties that made way for the Broughton Village development

The area is predominately a mix of mainly Victorian terraced houses with some 1970s developments.



Fig 51. 1970s housing in Broughton with Beetham tower on Deansgate in Manchester in the background

Some of the existing 1970s-built housing that is to remain has in the main undergone various low-level intervention schemes, but it has been the old Victorian properties that have made way for the new housing stock.



Fig 52. 1970s housing stock having undergone low-level intervention

The Council has a regeneration strategy called Salford 2025 and it sets out a vision of what they want to do for the next ten years. The driver is about creating economic growth it is also about improving the quality of the communities. This is an attempt through some of the housing-led initiatives in trying to diversify the housing tenure and give opportunities to people in those communities to move on to another housing tenure. Interestingly the housing market has moved quickly in the last twelve months with a significant move towards a private rented model.

Traditionally there would have an owner occupation and socially rented but now there is a middle bit which is the private rented sector which seems to be doing well. The reasons for this are that there have been difficulties in getting mortgages with the requirements being a bit more onerous. There is also, particularly in the context of the city centre, a lot of younger people who tend to have more flexible work contracts and therefore they have the ability to move around.

Work forces people to move around, or whether they choose to move around until they find a job they are happy doing, people do not want to be burdened with a house that they have bought and not being able to sell it – the unstable conditions that recession provides is representative of this. People therefore perhaps like the private rented model that takes reference from the European / North American models of housing tenure. With Manchester being a vibrant city, investors are looking to invest in Manchester because they know there is a workforce there.

Countryside Properties is currently working in partnership with Salford City Council and in association with Salix and Contour Homes at the Broughton Green housing project as part of the Salford 2025 strategy to take advantage of this. As part of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy Higher Broughton's vacant and poor condition pre-1919 housing is at the centre of housing stock regeneration. The Higher Broughton Housing Group and Great Places Housing Group work with The Broughton Trust in this area. The area is undergoing huge investment in its housing stock and below are representative of the new development that has replaced the housing illustrated above. There are significantly more expensive and more detached properties than previously occupied this space.



Fig 53. The ‘Hailstone splitters’ – new houses in Broughton. Sources – Author (2014)



Fig 54. New apartments in Broughton
Source - Author 2014

Countryside, Salford City Council and Great Places Housing Group are some of the partners in this scheme building 3,500 mixed-tenure homes and a full range of community facilities and services including shops, leisure, employment, education and training. This is a 15-year programme which started on site in 2006 that will retain some of the existing housing stock such as in figure 55 below.



Fig 55. Old 1970s housing stock
Source – Author (2014)



Fig 56. New houses across the road
Source – Author (2014)



Fig 57. Wide tree-lined streets

Source – Author (2014)



Fig 58. Green space created as part of the

redevelopment. Source – Author (2014)

4.9.3 Joined up approaches, participation and engagement

Managing housing-led regeneration schemes requires the interaction of several actors including, planners, developers, residents, public sector bodies and community groups. Co-ordinating and maintaining relationships, as highlighted earlier, is a difficult proposition. In an interview with a private sector and regional organisation decision maker (M) from a national property company described relationships between the three sectors by arguing that,

“Every sector is siloed into its own area and very rarely does it step outside of that”

This is because private sector business is financially oriented beyond anything else. Within this city councils are struggling for resources and the CVS suffer much the same. Thinking about how these sectors can be joined up (M) stated “I think that what is missing is really a whole way of bringing it together in a cohesive way to get a joined-up thing and that there is no organisation that brings it all together in one”. Considering the role of a regeneration company they can perhaps often be seen as a big white horse waving a flag saying that they are going to save the world, but they do have a responsibility as part of a collective process to consider the social as opposed to just the financially-orientated decision that they may make as well. So,

trying to bring some of these things together is very difficult as perceptions of stakeholder roles in urban renewal processes differ. In Broughton, there are three housing association partners and the city council and Salix Homes which all have their own neighbourhood management teams that are attempting to bring things together in a joined-up approach. The utilisation and effectiveness of these management teams have been commented on earlier.

Considering this need for a joined-up approach on wider scale, or who is best placed to do it, is particularly difficult in times like this when City Councils, who at other times might be the co-ordinator, have lost lots of staff. On this (M) said,

“It could be joined up in a better way, but it is difficult to do that no matter who it is that steps into that role, but I think ultimately the city council would be the best ones to do that although others may argue ferociously against that.”

Community committees may be well placed to do this (offer a joined-up approach) also as they already take on board local projects with funding from other sources – the council mainly, and they distribute it out through community groups from the council. The problem with this is that sometimes not many or everyone can co-ordinate this. Sometimes anyone approaching it from the private sector or from the council or from a specific community group, there may not be the right, well placed, well-educated enough or well experienced enough people to try and coordinate all of what is required.

This decision, a democratic decision may be the right way forward though, but an alternative option could perhaps be someone else within the community, as a community leader, who is not an elected person in the same way that a council is but is elected by the community through a community. It could be argued that the private sector however are not the best ones to do this as there is a different drive – the drive being profit and economic development as a focus and priority. It is understandable to some extent that the public, private and voluntary sectors do not align perfectly with each other. They all have different priorities, but the private sector does however have a role to play as the private sector could bring lots of expertise to the CVS and vice-versa when thinking about co-operative working in achieving equitable outcomes.

In terms of the impacts of the housing initiatives, displacement and gentrification in the New Broughton Village the council stated that they expected a drop off of people who, when regeneration came, would move elsewhere of 20-30%. The overall principle of the development appears to bring economically active people in to support and help the existing

population grow – it will be interesting in five years' time to examine the already shifting demographic of Broughton. Current and recent regeneration activity with similar drive in attracting economically active people in the wider city of Salford includes developments such as The Exchange Greengate which is seen to be a mixed-use urban quarter near Chapel Street. Salford Central has also been working with the English Cities Fund to create transport, commercial, residential, retail, leisure, hotel and creative industry developments. However, the flagship development of Salford Quays and MediaCityUK is the central hub for business, cultural and residential opportunities. The impact and contribution of Salford Quays to urban renewal in Salford will be examined later in these findings.

Considering democratic approaches to regeneration are fundamental to any development of the places people live. The main outlet for democracy in these processes is through consultation. Consultation can be difficult because people only tend to engage initially if they think their home is going to be affected by it. This was confirmed by a senior regeneration manager in Salford (J) “the challenge with any consultation is how you get people out to it. If you can achieve 15% response you have done very very well. It depends on the subject matter but ordinarily on a framework for an area if you achieve 10% you have done well.”

Regarding the last community consultation that one of the property companies did about the next stages of development for Broughton hardly anybody turned up according to one director. Indications were that the development met some resistance as “This is where people grew up, this is where wee Tommy was born, where Uncle Charlie died, and I have had those neighbours for the last 20 years and I love my house and I don't want to move” (M, 2012). This view is somewhat patronising to the people who live there though and does not consider the attachment and identity that people have with an area – most of which makes up what people experience as community.

These consultations have been put into a different perspective by a local community organisation representative (Q). This representative expressed that when the developers came to Broughton they were very amiable and wanted to engage and people got involved. “They showed everyone the new Jerusalem that was going to get built for them and it was all going swimmingly and was going to be the biggest regeneration in the area £250m - £300m.” (Q) went on to express concern that when the building commenced all the engagement disappeared once people were on board with the development idea. (Q) stated “From an area point of view they totally disengaged with any communication from the community and they disengaged

with the council. The council cannot get off them postcodes for who is employed on the site. So, they have totally disengaged, and no-one is doing anything about it or holding them to account.”



Fig 59. Redevelopment in Broughton has included a brand-new school (Riverside) as part of the scheme. Source – Author 2014



Fig 60 Riverside School. Source – Author 2014

4.9.4 Improving economic and social diversity

Observations taken from walks around the property-led development of new Broughton Village there was a sense that Broughton had been split in two. On the one hand there is the expansive array of new houses in this project and on the other areas of neglect such as the main shopping centre in Broughton – Mocha Parade. Underused and in a state of decay there are also stark contrasts to the shopping facilities of the Vibe in the New Broughton development. Observations of the Vibe ascertained that the new units were under occupied, but this was perhaps due to the need for more take up of the properties recently built.



Fig 61. The 'Mocha Parade' shopping facilities next to the new development of Broughton Village. Source – Author (2013)

There is a completely different feel to the area from 10 years ago. With high perceptions of crime and actual crime rates blighting the ward previously the regeneration of what were some unwelcoming areas has now changed. There are fewer disused properties attracting vandalism, and the area now benefits from some addition retail facilities as opposed to the outdated, and falling into disrepair, shopping area of Mocha Parade, above.



Fig 62. New shopping facility 'The Vibe' in Broughton village.

The mixture of people that have now come to live in Broughton is quite large. There are people who live in Broughton because their family lived here, there is quite an elderly population, and there are quite a lot of families. The local school population has also changed immensely. What is evident is that there is a range of people who have come to live there both from the existing community, the people who moved there for social housing or affordable housing, and people who have bought there to live here because of family, people who have bought there because they work or study in the city. There are a lot of people from diverse backgrounds so there is a huge mixed community - a lot of Middle Eastern, Asian and Polish have been observed living in the area. There are also a lot of people whose lifestyle is in the city centre which is just less than one mile down the road.



Fig 63. One of a few Eastern European shops in Broughton. Source – (Author, 2013)

What is clear from the findings for research question three is that organisations from across all three sectors have undergone massive structural changes, mainly due to the impacts of global recession and austerity measures and this has impacted upon policy, relationships and processes. During austerity however, Salford’s community assets have been highlighted as a contributor to areas of success. The role of faith groups and the influence that diverse groups have is very clear through different types of co-operative working evidenced in the remainder of this chapter. There is however some uncertainty for organisations and residents that devolution and changes in the city-region may, or may not, bring. The flagship Salford Quays development however seems to be continually expanding and will provide a major cultural and digital hub for the city that may bring with it improved access and opportunity for residents – although this is not currently the case with this community asset.

It should be stated from the outset here that the ethnic and cultural diversity of Broughton is not evident to the same extent as in Cheetham. It has a different demographic for different reasons. Within this setting the population of Broughton in 2008 stood at 8,338 residents. (See table below). However, the recent developments by Salix Homes and Countryside Properties will potentially see this figure rise to over 10,000.

Population			Change
Ward	2001	2008	2001-2008
Broughton	6,739	8,338	23.7%

Table 5. Ward population statistics (ONS 2011)

It is fair to say that Broughton has not been a very ethnically or culturally diverse area until recently, but its demographic is continually changing. Figure 64 below shows how the make-up of the population in Broughton compares with neighbouring wards and with Salford, the North West and the rest of England. The demographic below that the levels of diversity are higher in the wider city of Salford than within the local ward of Broughton. This diversity can be attributed to the targeting of economically active people to the ward as it lies next to the city center of Manchester.

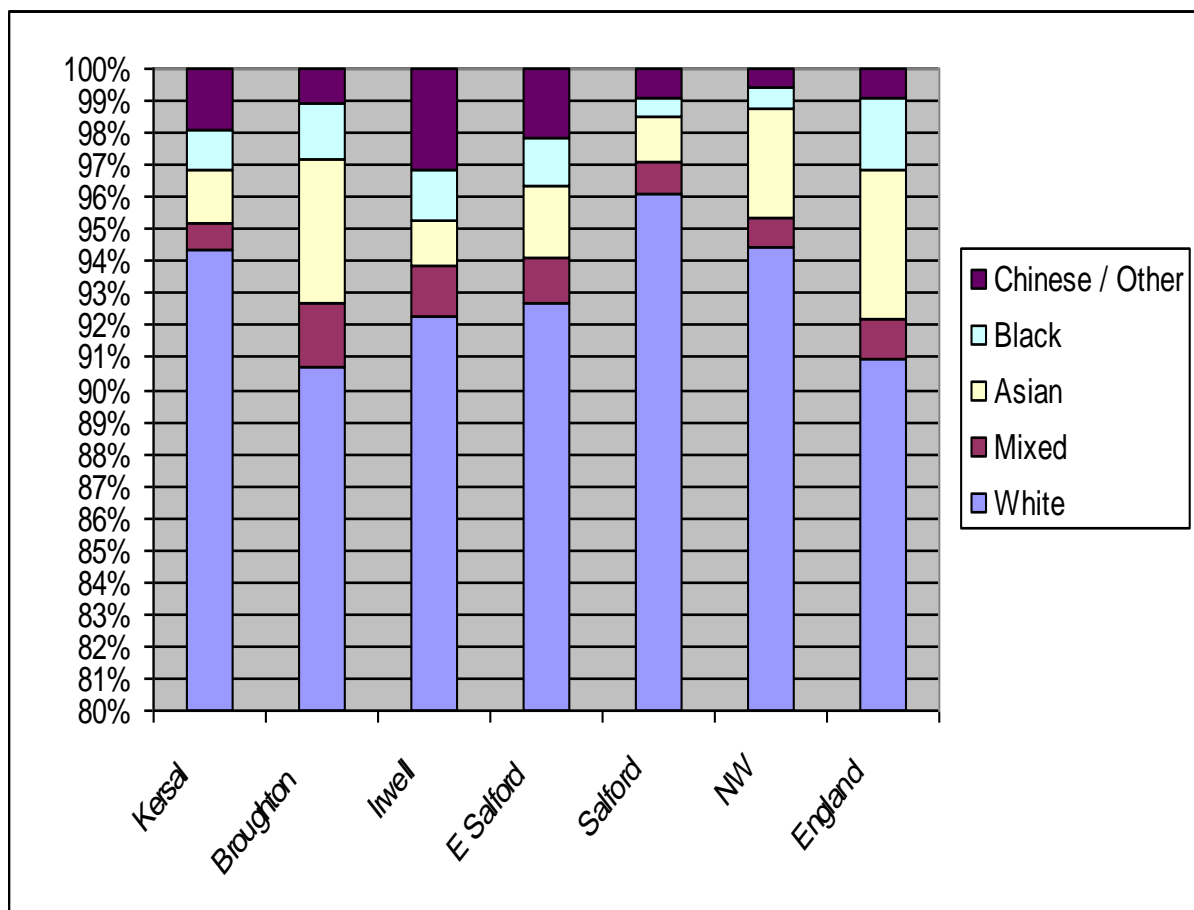


Fig 64. ONS (2011) Diversity by ethnic origin

The demand for properties is on the increase in Broughton with the economic hub of the City of Manchester just one mile down the road possibly contributing to the increase in want and need for people to live in the ward.

Salford and Broughton have become more diverse – particularly through the economic wealth that, for example, Media City, has generated, but with this has come increases in house prices in certain areas. These house prices are astronomical in some parts now whereas a few years ago they were quite reasonable, so it has had an impact on the area. In terms of cultural diversity, it is still not one of the most culturally diverse places say compared to Cheetham Hill. Broughton has traditionally been quite diverse mainly represented by the higher than national average of the Orthodox Jewish community.



Fig 65. Jewish cultural community centre in Broughton

There are also other pockets of cultural and ethnic diversity in the rest of Salford. There is a big Yemini community in Eccles and they have their own community centre off Liverpool Road. There is also a big eastern European community. Salford's main ethnic group used to be the Irish but that has changed. Within this is the issue of providing an opportunity for these communities to work co-operatively with other groups to develop their opportunities in Salford and the city-region. One of these issues may be a barrier, this is peoples understanding of and ability to speak English. This has not been helped with the cuts in public services. For example,

the Yemini community currently to go to Salford Employment Centre, which is a trade union organisation, where people can go for English lessons. This is not a public service run initiative, but it is a voluntary service put on by the community.

4.10 RQ3 What are the resultant outcomes and contributing factors?

4.10.1 The context of devolution and the city-region

Emergent from the findings were some apprehensions and elements of anticipation regarding the impact of devolution and the city-region arrangements in making all this work. One senior council official said,

“What the city region is, and does anybody really need to understand it, the combined authorities and the governor’s arrangements, not really. They don’t need to know how everything works because who does”.

The whole point about the city region agenda as it stands is that it is very much geared up to the economic growth aspect and it is a loose representation of the functionally economic area. In economic terms the city-region is smaller than the functionally economic area, but it is a close match and it works as a close approximation because of the institutional bodies i.e. the ten councils that have been working together on a voluntary basis on a statutory basis for a long time. So, there is a basis on which, up to now it has already been done together. What this means for the people in Cheetham and Broughton is that by working together in this way their job prospects are likely to be better than if they did not work together in that way. Looking to analyse the notion of the Manchester city-region the thoughts of senior council official (F) are used again to elaborate. (F) was asked “How do you think devolution will impact upon Salford as a city and those local communities embedded within it?” The reply was

“I think that with the creation of the GMCA we have already been working like this since 1986 when the GMC was abolished, and we have been working together as local authorities very

effectively. I think this has been of enormous benefit in terms of inward investment and marketing Manchester and trying to also get our act together over transport.”

Summarising (F)’s next few comments it was clear that he thought that individual authorities have made sacrifices on their own capital transport budgets to make sure that they have delivered things like ‘Metrolink’. He explained that they have done this even though the individual authority may not have benefited from that link, but they have been prepared to top slice their budgets for the benefit of the region by recognising the benefits even if physically it is not in their area. (F) then made the point,

“So, I think there is a long history of collaboration and co-operation that benefits people. Politicians in Greater Manchester do, but need to look more, beyond their own boundaries and see what benefits Greater Manchester as a whole.”

To continue doing this there is a need to ensure that all resources at a Greater Manchester strategic level are being used by working co-operatively to initiate projects and new networks that would not be able to be done alone. The approach should be that eventually (sooner rather than later) it will come around to benefit us all – it is eventually part of this that has historically been the problem with urban renewal practice. When addressing immediate need the promise of a trickle-down effect is not sufficient and so new ways of how people work co-operatively is needed. The pooling of resources is important here because if, as a result of devolution, the city-region is able to spend the monies that were previously spent by agencies of central government in Greater Manchester they can be tied into our local programme that have identified local needs. One council official (T) stated of this approach, “We get bigger bang for our buck.”

4.10.2 Community assets – cultural and faith related

One of the other emerging themes from the third research question was the contribution of community assets in urban renewal. Dealing with the pressure and expectation that the city-region brings Salford is well placed in terms of economic and cultural assets in the Salford Quays area of the city. Salford “currently provides sixty percent green space, thirty miles of rivers and canals, new and existing architecture and increasing transport and accommodation facilities” according to Salford City Council (2010). From a cultural perspective, the redevelopment of the much acclaimed ‘Salford Quays’ provides a new social and economic

dimension to the city and will be used as an example by a number of the interviewees in this work. The MEN (2010) described Salford Quays as “a world class arts and theatre complex attracting over one million visitors a year and outstanding architecture and commercial facilities on a waterfront setting” (MEN, 2010). Salford is also home to the famous Ordsall Hall, 28 miles of sculpture trails on the river Irwell, a Super League Rugby League club and has been home to the Triathlon World Cup.

The area has plenty of bars and restaurants and the Quays has been viewed as a flagship development to attract commerce to the city. Whilst observations were mainly conducted in Broughton the wider areas of interest in Salford were also observed. This included ‘The Precinct’ at Pendleton, Ordsall, Salford Crescent, Chapel Street and Salford Quays. These observations normally consisted of a community walk to observe activity and physical development. The researcher remembers when Salford Quays’ only real attraction was the Lowry Theatre and attached Lowry Outlet shopping centre. Now home to the BBC and other digital media companies such as ITV the area has more of a cosmopolitan feel. As described above the area now benefits from being a work and tourist destination.

There does however appear to be a cost to this with property prices increasing due to demand from an increasing workforce. Just five minutes’ walk from the cosmopolitan Quays lies the residential area of Ordsall. Whilst Ordsall has benefited from regeneration, interestingly property nearest to the Quays Ordsall Lane (the main thoroughfare to the Quays) the area still suffers from poor connectivity and resident access to some of the cultural offerings and employment opportunities. The Quays is important in setting some economic context to this thesis as it is the flagship for development of this nature and provides some evidence of the concentration of financial investment in the commercial sector and the lack of equity in terms of renewal in its neighbouring, less visible wards.

A small community group leader (R) was asked in terms of the wider area of Salford “What do you think about Media City and opportunities for local people to be employed there?” (R) replied,

“I think Media City was introduced and sold as the solution to every problem in the north west of England. There are supposed to be fifty thousand jobs created. There have been very few apprenticeships created and the problem with all of that is that when you challenge of this you

are seen as being negative. Where are the jobs, where is the access for locals? Ask these questions and you're seen as being negative."

However, the rapid development of the Quays has only been possible with over ten years of private and public-sector investment, which has recently been curtailed only slightly, in some quarters, by the global economic downturn. The transformation of Salford Quays consists, in the main of "new high-quality commercial, residential and leisure developments, with numerous restaurants, hotels, cinemas, and now the Lowry Art Gallery and theatre complex" (Gray, 2000:91)



Fig. 66 The Salford Quays Development.

The development of this area from the 1980s has provided what is now a high-tech digital arena led by flagship organisations such as the BBC. As the presence of industry increases in this area there have been some reported changes to local housing stock prices, identity of the Quays and its proximity to Manchester and access and opportunity for residents. These ideas will be explored further into the findings in this chapter as Salford Quays will become important in the qualitative data collected as it is a contested development within the perceptions of some members of the local communities. There does appear to be restricted access to employment for residents within this digital development, but these barriers are discussed further within this findings chapter. It is from within these local communities however that the researcher however starts to find evidence of good co-operative working relationships to combat these inequalities.

Seeking another perspective as to the impact of Media City a local politician (L) responded that

“For a start, the residents of Ordsall feel a little cut off being flanked by two main roads and they have recently had bus services in and out of the area cut down. Some of the residents see Media City as a bit of a yuppie place.”

To counteract this, there is currently a big push on upskilling by the council which has been supported by Ian Stewart the mayor. Media City have started putting on more media courses in local colleges, the university and there is a new space in Salford Quays called The Landing which is a space for SME and start-up businesses. There is 90% occupancy there at the moment. It is fair to say that Media City has worked so far as a flagship organisation, but more people should be employed there from the local communities, but they need more of the skills to be able to do that. This is where there is need is in terms of education.

Returning to the research site of Broughton so as provide some local context, the regeneration of the ward benefits from a reasonable amount of green space as part of its infrastructure. The creation and maintenance of green leisure spaces is fundamental to any healthy community. The main recreational park in terms of community assets in Broughton is Albert Park which borders Higher and Lower Broughton provides this. The places where people recreate is also conducive to the just city concept. This area is a well-used green space.



Fig 67. Albert Park, Corner of Camp Street
Source – (Author 2014)



Fig 68. New park in between phase 1 and
phase 2 of the ‘Broughton Village’. Source –
(Author, 2014)

As with Cheetham this ward of Broughton in Salford also has several other community assets. These are physical and social and the location of some of these have been detailed below in figures 70-74. Also, of importance is the emergence of the work of faith groups that work with the community. As a result, a list of places of worship, some of which are discussed in the thesis. These are mainly in the form of churches, but other faith groups and places of worship are discussed later also.

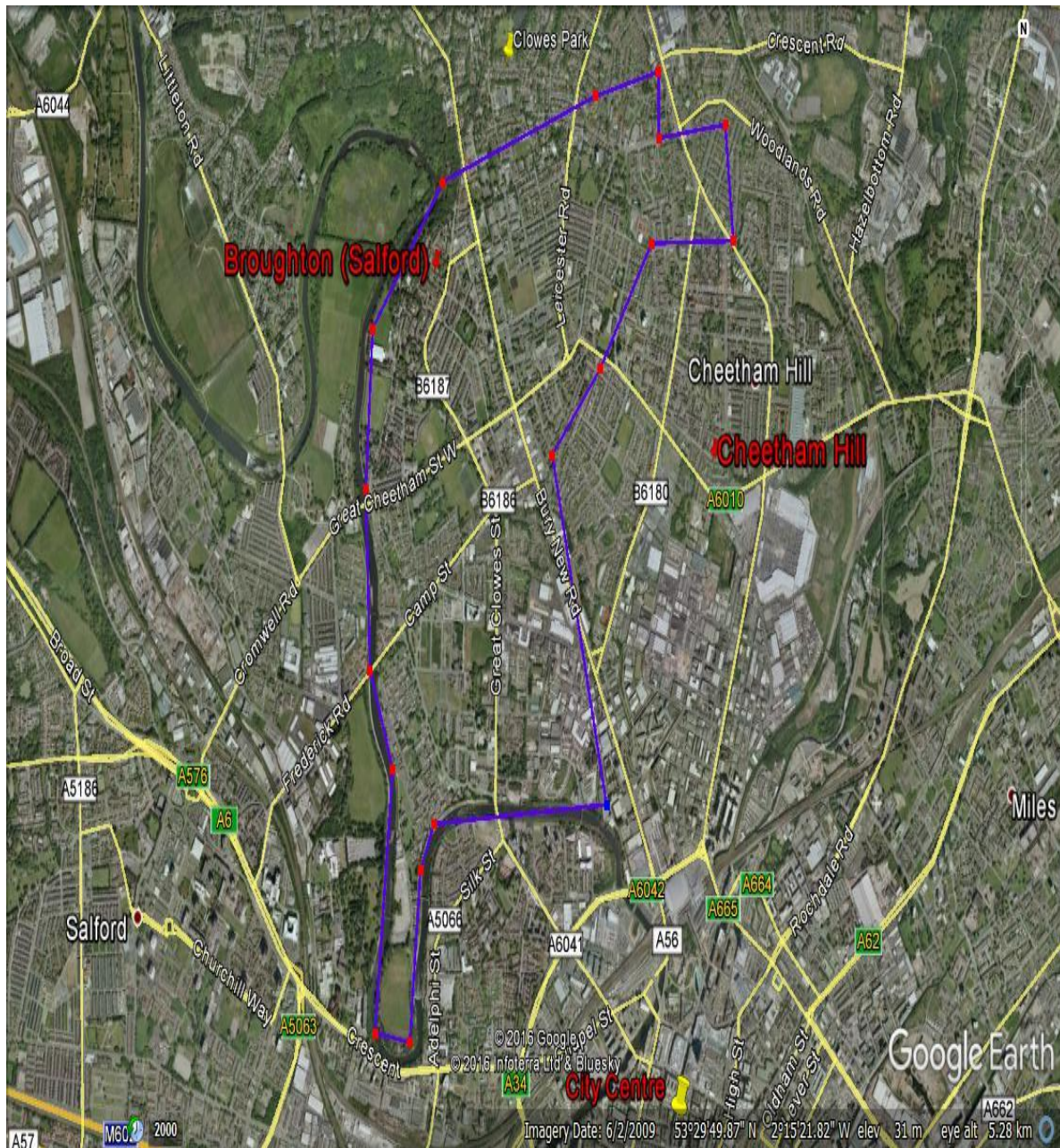


Fig 69. Broughton ward boundary showing proximity to Cheetham and Manchester City Centre. Source – Author (2013)

Some of these assets, such as the Broughton Community Hub (fig.70) provide shared space for some of the local areas service and facilities provision and is a sort of one stop shop for residents. Located on the border between Broughton and Cheetham this building provides a youth centre, trampoline club, all weather games areas, information and advice, council services, children's centre and a library service. What is interesting to note here is that this hub is used by residents of the local ward of Cheetham as well as the residents of Broughton. According to one library worker in the hub it is one of the few public services that the local Jewish population utilise.



Fig 70. The Broughton Community Hub



Fig 71. Fit City, Broughton

As mentioned earlier, Salford benefits from large amounts of green space and there is active encouragement of Salford's Health and Wellbeing Strategy as an approach to improving the health outcomes of residents of the city. Part of this is the provision of public facilities such as the Broughton Leisure Center to do this. Situated 500 yards from Albert Park, the leisure center is managed by 'Community Leisure Salford' and they state they are "passionate about delivering value for money, we reinvest all our profits because we believe that leisure and culture should be at the heart of every community. By being active with us, you are supporting your local community" (CLS, 2016).

In addition to the public-sector provision for services and facilities in the form of the Broughton Hub, there is a strong presence of Community and Voluntary groups providing services for the residents of Broughton. One of these is the Naz Community Hall which provides a community space that accommodates a wide range of local activities, groups and organisations including community lunches, Nursery Tots (nursery care), and meeting rooms for local groups.



Fig 72. Naz Community Hall



Fig 73 The Broughton Trust

The Broughton Trust is another one of these assets. This organisation was established in 1999 as a charitable organisation. Most of its employees and volunteers live within an 8-mile radius of the organisation. The Trust works in co-operative partnership with local organisations including Salford Council, Salford City College and Salford Together.

The Trusts vision is “to support a City (Salford) that offers equal life chances and expectations to all its residents” (BroughtonTrust, 2015). They hope to achieve this vision through working in partnership to help increase aspirations, increase wellbeing and create strong and sustainable communities through learning, training and employment opportunities.



Figure.74. The Church of Ascension

Broughton, as does Cheetham, benefits from a diverse faith sector. As mentioned previously there is a higher than average Jewish population in Broughton but there are also several other religions represented in Salford and Broughton that add to the areas diversity and are also involved in community work addressing need in these communities. One of these, the Church of Ascension, has been providing free community lunches twice a week.



Fig 75 Free Community Lunch at the Church of Ascension
Source – Author (2014)

The map below provides detail of the six over main religious groups represented in Broughton. The Church of England is the most prominent represented faith group.

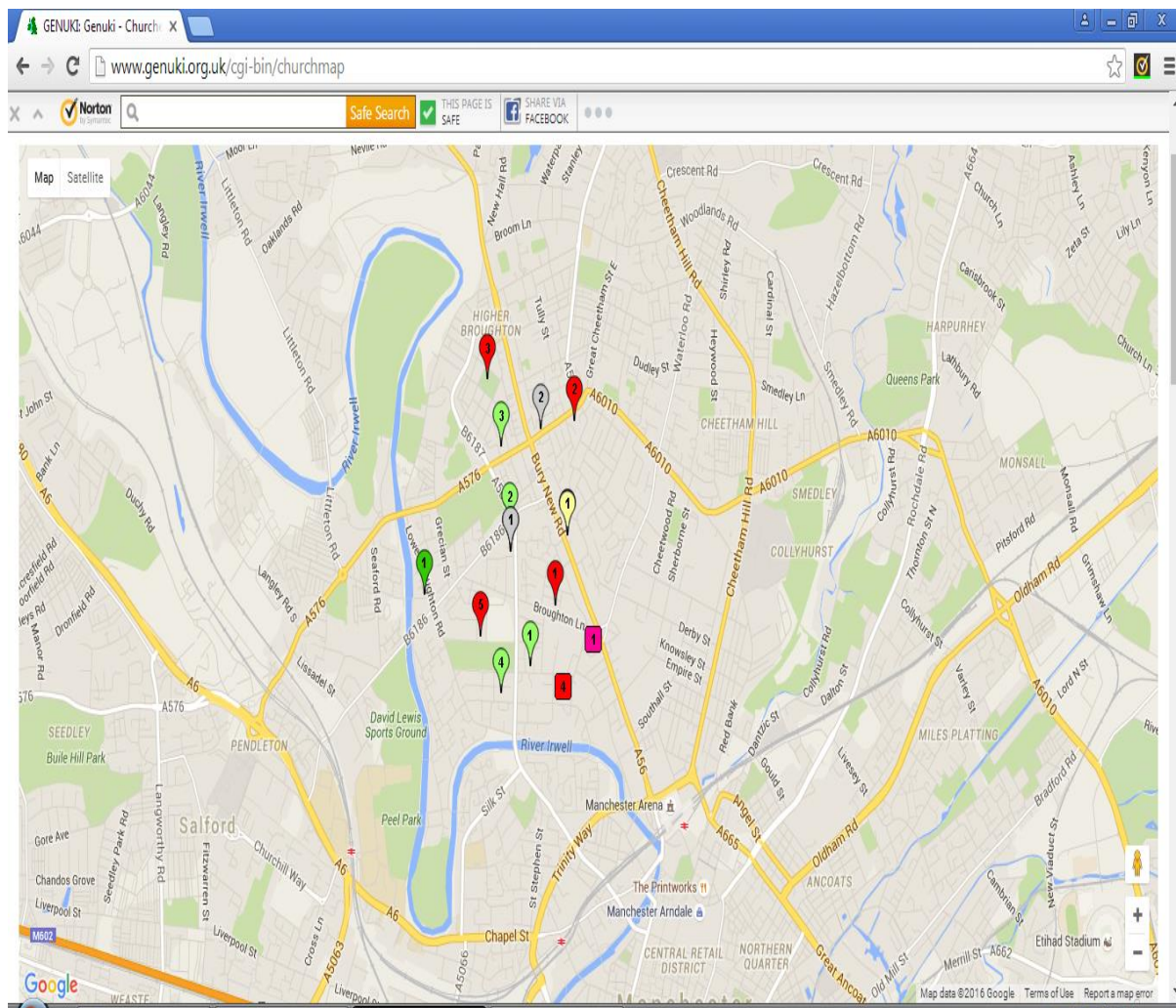


Fig 76. Local places of worship in Broughton (Source – Genuki 2014)

Legend for Figure 76

Anglican (Red)

St Clement, Church of England, Lower Broughton

St James, Church of England, Lower Broughton

St John the Evangelist, Church of England, Higher Broughton

St Paul, Salford

The Ascension, Church of England, Lower Broughton

Baptist (Aqua)

Gr Clowes Street, Union Baptist, Lower Broughton.

Independent / Congregational (Dark Blue)

Bury New Road, Congregational, Broughton

Jewish (Yellow)

Holy Law South Broughton Congregational, Broughton

Methodist (Light Green)

Alexandra Gardens, Broughton

Camp Street, Broughton

Gt Cheetham St West, Higher Broughton

Sussex Street, Lower Broughton

Roman Catholic

St Boniface, Lower Broughton

Other -Gt. Clowes Street, Church of the Nazarene, Lower Broughton

One national organisation sees the contribution of faith groups to development of communities as “through sharing physical resources, the richness of their connections and networks, their involvement in governance and their collaborative work with others, faith groups contribute substantial and distinctive social capital.” (Faith Action 2014). The national organisation, Faith Action, “advises that the relationship between faith groups and councils should be based on mutual respect and a two-way process of information and support” (2014).

There is evidence of this practice from across Salford, and from different faiths, to demonstrate the wide range of activity taking place. Some of the main ways in which faith groups are having a positive impact on health and wellbeing in Broughton include supporting ethnic groups who face health inequalities or are at greater risk of developing specific health problems. Faith groups in Salford have been involved in social action to improve the lives of people who face problems such as poverty or homelessness and have also been articulating the health needs of their communities.

4.10.3 – Educational attainment

Moving to the wider area of Salford for a moment in continuing to examine the community assets the University has emerged as an important organisation that is at the heart of the education, training and employment opportunities in the city. A political decision maker (F) in the public sector was asked what they thought are some of the biggest community assets/players in the City of Salford. Respondent (F) immediately stated “One would be the university and other educational institutions because of the way they link into so many parts of the assets.”



Figure 77. Salford University building on the ‘Crescent’.

As part of the drive for higher educational attainment in the city a senior council official (G) in Salford, spoke of social aspirations and the psychology of residents in terms of their feeling of self-worth in terms of access to education. He expressed a need to upskill people in technology and attempt to enhance learning in the City of Salford. According to (G) “This is being helped by the introduction and focus on mathematical coding teaching in schools”. This presumably is an attempt to upskill the local population to be able to access the opportunities that a new digital arena such as Salford Quays has to offer.

This was confirmed by respondent (F) who used Media City as an example talking about the way local people can access that in terms of employment and engagement is very often through the route of high schools, linking into colleges, linking into the university. (F) added, “I think the university sits on top of that because of that progression route of education but also because of the incredible amount of outreach work the university does with the schools and colleges to

link them to Media city for example. So, if I were to single out one particular asset I would say the university, but I suppose not one asset in itself brings that because of the way it links with other assets and because it is a nexus in those links.”



Figure 78. One of Salford University's new locations – Media City, Salford Quays.

The university now has a presence within Media City in Salford Quays (fig 78 above) and this extending their reach to partnership working with media industries and organisations this training and developing digital and technically able workers for the future.

4.10.4 Connectivity (transport), access and opportunity

Attracting people to an area is all well and good but the way in which people can move around the city has been highlighted as a concern and issues of transport and connectivity are addressed here also. The findings suggest that the provision of a more extensive network has been linked to the improvement in access and opportunity to education, training and employment.

Being able to physically access these opportunities, such as at Salford Quays and other destinations in the city though is a fundamental issue that needs addressing. Transport and connectivity have emerged as important findings within Salford and as one resident stated,

“If want to go anywhere in my own city your having a laugh. They have done away with all the circulars you used to have. They stopped the bus routes because the docks got wiped out, now there is something there they have still not done anything about it.”

This issue around connectivity is a local, city-region and national issue about whether people have equitable opportunity to access (including transport systems) to access them. With HS2 currently being debated in the media as a national issue some of the interviewees in the research were asked about where the priority in transport infrastructure should be – locally, regionally or nationally. Interestingly, when asked about the impact of HS2 and how it would help people in Salford one respondent (F) stated, “I don’t know. We can’t predict this. HS2 however is about maintaining and increasing the capacity of the rail network in general so it not a simplistic debate which some see as just being about people in Manchester being able to get to London. That’s a load of nonsense. If it were the only driver you would not do it.”

Consensus from the interviews was that HS2 was about freeing up capacity on the transport network and that there is a current push to complete the rail ring route around Manchester. (F) made the point that “That is probably more important than HS2 for us in the city. Looking forward, without HS2 that ring route would become congested, so I see HS2 as a way of taking pressure off the networks that we need to in order to join up the labour markets.”

The idea here is that when the ring route around Manchester is completed it means that trains that currently use Piccadilly only will then be able to use Victoria and Salford Central stations and that commuters would be able to come in from any direction and go out in any direction thus removing bottlenecks at some of the busier stations and platforms. The problem here is that the bottle necks can be removed but if more people are using the trains to come in and use the inter city services it will clog up anyway, so it could be argued that the city-region and Salford need HS2 to make sure it gets the benefits from removing those bottlenecks. Thinking about this at a strategic level there is some talk about Greater Manchester, but the real economic driver could be the Liverpool / Leeds corridor as part of the Northern Powerhouse goals. Perhaps by strengthening the northern regions by broadening the approach of devolution as

opposed to concentrating on Manchester as the economic hub this could be the way to work co-operatively towards more equitable socially and economically sustainable communities.

In contrast to the regional and national thinking about transport infrastructures for the city-region it is easier for people from Bury (north of the city-region) and Altrincham (south of the city-region) to access Salford Quays than it is for people from Little Hulton or Broughton which are wards in the city of Salford. Bus routes though have improved enormously though and when the city-region establishes the equivalent of the Oyster Card bus services and access across the city should improve for all residents. What is clear is that transport and connectivity need to be thought about at different scales.

Debates around transport are not limited to rail, road and metrolink in Salford. The proposed Atlantic Gateway initiative, led by Peel Holdings, aims to bring back into use the Manchester Ship Canal as a transport network for freight traffic. This would provide growth, but greener more environmentally-friendly growth. This project fits with a north-west strategy on transport. Regarding the Port of Salford, on a regional scale it would mean less lorries on the road, although there would be extra pressure on the motorway junction at Eccles, and it would mean great environmental benefit as well as economic benefit in getting goods into Manchester in a more cost-effective way. A senior council politician (G), confirmed these thoughts by stating “In terms of the Atlantic Gateway this is a sustainable idea. I think we should be looking at things like the Port of Salford and the idea of water motorways.” Referring to an earlier point made by (L) the comment was then made,

“On this we should have an industrial strategy. Trafford and the Docks used to be the breadbasket of the north and by trying to return to some of this would be good as we can’t all work in the service sector like Maggie Thatcher wanted us to do.”

Salford does not have the best transport system, but the tram extension has been a welcome addition although places like Ordsall and Swinton for example have been left on their own. A politician in Salford (L) commented that it is quite difficult to access Manchester and navigate around it and some Salford residents think that,

“South Manchester gets everything, and they get nothing. Having good connectivity and access to opportunities is a human right and the current transport system needs addressing by doing such things as putting fare caps on the various bus providers.”

Asking a senior council official in Manchester about the importance of good connectivity and transport links it was stated “I guess as a starting point connectivity, that includes transport, is absolutely crucial to economic wellbeing. How can you demonstrate that case, well assume the opposite is true and imagine Manchester with no roads connecting it to anywhere, no canals, no railways, no airports, well you could not imagine Manchester as there would be no Manchester because it could not survive in those conditions.”

4.10.5 Finding new ways of working together in the face of austerity and recession – co-operative working, resilience and innovation

So far, as part of the third research question examining the impacts and resultant outcomes of relationships and process in urban renewal in Salford some community assets and the currently stretched transport networks have been looked at. In addition, and as a backdrop to this the impacts of recession and austerity have emerged as a context setting negative for the whole of this. Social thinker Frederik Engels examined the living conditions in parts of Salford in the 1840s and in Engels publication *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* (1844) he wrote about the city and how it suffered from issues of poor health, poor working conditions and poor standard of living. The book describes in intimate detail, street after street, and the squalor that working people were living in, based on what he had seen in Salford and Manchester. It could be argued that most major cities in the UK also had similar problems exacerbated by external and internal working and living conditions.

Salford was however in its hey-day in the 1800s and early 1900s for the industrialists, and the period in which Engels writes. Salford was benefitting from the industrial revolution as Manchester Docks (now Salford Quays), linked to the coast by the Manchester Ship Canal, provided much intensive industry and required a workforce to match. Salford was able to provide this. However, as activity at the docks declined (from about the 1950s) unemployment rose leaving many of those living in some of the densely-populated estates and wards in the city subject to deteriorating living conditions and reduced access and opportunity to other forms of employment. Something the area is still recovering from and this is made more difficult with the effects of recession and austerity measures/funding cuts.

Since the year 2000 much of Broughton has experienced urban renewal initiatives mainly through the form of housing-oriented regeneration but has also been subject to cuts in public

expenditure on services and facilities. The City Council however seem proud of their achievements to date and state that they have turned a corner in addressing some of the social and economic deficiencies in the city. This has been through some of the council's claims, which include:

“During the last decade, massive investment, more jobs, greater economic prosperity, improved environmental quality and lower crime levels are changing the perception and image of the city for the better” (Salford City Council, 2010)

Contesting this view to some degree a local politician was asked about what they thought contributed to the reported challenges, economically and socially, over the last five years in Salford. (L)'s response was,

“Recession and austerity is the first thing. The papers reported that it was Labour that caused the economic crash, but it was not, it was greed. It was the greed of the banking system and poor regulation. But there has been greed on other scales. Google and Amazon not paying taxes back into society that they should.”

This is evidence that there is a push back and not being compliant with the neo-liberal agenda. (L) went on to say that she feels there “is no money in the system anymore and there has been and there has, for example, been a rise in food banks in Salford.” Adding “There has also been a rise in the number of loan sharks and the problem is quite bad in Salford.” This is interesting as further on in this chapter the involvement of co-operative credit unions is discussed in terms of reducing this problem.

Wanting to address some of the consequences of austerity the researcher and how to implement changes in policy the question was asked “Do you think the loss of staff and experience in the council will affect the resources you can draw upon as an MP to deliver change? (L) replied “Yes, definitely. I have experienced this through my professional work experiences. There were massive losses when the NHS was reorganised and people in their 50s and 60s were replaced with younger and more commercially-minded people who did not have the adequate knowledge required for some of the roles.”

Respondent (G), senior council official, talked about the heart being ripped out of councils and the way in which they are “now accountable to profit. This is not what the councils were set up for as they were set up after the depression to help people but now they are being asked to run

in accordance with efficiency.” This push back and non-compliance of the neo-liberal agenda and austerity cuts is evidenced below through one of several union strikes and demonstrations outside the Civic Center in Swinton.



Fig 79. UNISON picket line – Source – Manchester Evening News 2015

There has been a big loss of history and experience in redundancy rounds in the public sector and the looking at the council structure in the future there is talk that the political structure could see a lot less councillors. There appears, from the interviews, to be a lacking a skill base now at officer level. One of the biggest concerns about the restructuring of public sector departments has been about the loss of experience and history with colleagues. One manager (J) at the council said of this,

“So, 3 years ago we lost four members of staff to voluntary early retirement who had a combined work experience of 100 years in Salford. So, they had been here man and boy and they all literally walked out the door at the end of March in that year. Whilst there are files and things are all kept it is often the human knowledge in projects that is lost and is not really transferred onto other people picking up those projects.”

Attempting to explore this further (J) was asked “How do you feel this impacts on the relationships and trust between the council and some communities” The reply was “Yes there is an impact, because often within those communities there is a lot of scepticism about the things that the council say. They hear of false promises but without knowing why they have failed to have been delivered.” (J) went on to comment that he thought it was only going to get more of a challenge there so this year as there are people who have applied for voluntary early retirement, or voluntary severance. This seemed to be a dilemma for (J) as it was then said “These people have so much particular knowledge in their particular sector, but what do you

do? The package is attractive to them, so I think you could see the public sector going one way really. So, they take up other opportunities.”

In terms of dealing with sudden change and continued loss of skilled workers the private sector will perhaps be more resilient and adaptable to change than the public sector. This in turn adds to the influence that laissez faire approaches have and will have on future decision making in the city region.

As the findings have progressed the idea of co-operative and collaborative working has emerged. Some of the co-operative working initiatives have been perceived to have been successful but have also not been without problems. One of these initiatives has been the Salford Credit Union. Of the early days of its initiation one local charity organisation representative commented, “It was a bit of a thieftom if I’m honest and was on the point of collapse. About eighteen months ago it was reshaped. The old board were thrown out and the new board installed. There has been a bit of a revolution there and now it’s been set up in the hubs across the city. Hopefully that will increase over time as it gets better at what it’s doing.”



Fig 80. Broughton / River Valley Credit Union office. Source (Guardian 2012)

There could be more emphasis and support for co-operative working organisations such as the Salford Credit Union? The Bank of Salford has been set up although it is in its early stages and there has been reference to this topic in the Labour party conference to push for more local banks. The success of this however depends upon the levels of trust from the community. Then

they will be able to gain more power. Respondent (G), senior council official, also seemed keen on the idea of Salford as a co-operative city but thinks whilst this is a good idea –

“The private sector needs to invest their expertise and acumen. Credit unions need to also advertise more”.

Having presented some of the evidence it is useful here to again attempt frame this in the context of the main thread of the research – trying to make sense of the just city concept through the co-operative city concept. In terms of the evidence found relating to diversity, democracy, equity and co-operative working – suggestions and criterion that were discussed in the literature review chapter when discussing what a just city looks like. In addition to evidencing Fainstein’s criterion this research adds co-operative working as one of the criteria to add to these for examination. The table below reflects what this research has found in terms of the criterion found across the three different sectors. Where an X is inserted this confirms evidence has been found representative of the criterion in that sector.

	Private Sector	Public Sector	Third Sector
Diversity	x	x	x
Democracy		x	x
Equity			x
Co-operation		x	x

Table 6. Broughton – evidencing justice criterion in Cheetham three sectors.

This table illustrates that diversity and co-operation are strengths across all sectors in Broughton and that democratic and co-operative processes are evident across the public and third sector. The criterion with the weakest representation is ‘equity’ with the only notable evidence in the third sector. Diversity is strongly evident in Broughton despite the difficulties in management, leadership and the pressures of recession and austerity. Diversity was not expected to be as evident as what it was, but the New Broughton Village contributes greatly to

this. This is interesting as these criteria have emerged in unstable economic and social conditions and offer an alternative to looking at global cities in more stable conditions.

4.11 Summary of findings for cases 1 and 2.

Suggestions are made in the findings, related to the first core research question, that the notion of leadership is a contentious issue. Whilst it should be acknowledged that governing a large metropolis is not an easy task, there appears to be a patriarchal approach from Manchester City council to how things are done. This on the face of it is not very democratic but the loss of experience and creative and skilled managers in the city-region has also meant that decisions have to be made, sometimes by people not best placed to do so. The findings demonstrate a concern about who there is to join up the different sectors of the city-region and the work that each does, either alone or in partnership. Howard Bernstein and Richard Leese seem best placed to understand local need and they share a vision of how cities should be run with their counterparts in Westminster. There does also appear to be difference in the way relationships and processes are managed by Manchester and Salford City leaders and as to how they are delivered on a local level. The imposition of a city-mayor will provide an interesting perspective on leadership and managing the city-region in the context of democracy in the future.

Urban renewal has been delivered through strategic frameworks and associated infrastructures in both localities. The synthesis in the next chapter will examine how these relationships work within these frameworks, the constraints and the extent of cross-sector working in urban renewal. There have been 30 years of shifting administrative structures and boundaries, but the issue of social justice remains as addressing poverty remains the key theme to urban renewal. The ten local authorities do however appear to have successfully worked on a collaborative basis for several years and seem set to do so for the foreseeable future.

Local and city-region policy has been delivered through regional and local initiatives and frameworks. Of interesting note, The Greater Manchester Strategy contains 17 summative points for the document – 15 of which relate to economic growth and is indicative of a city-region focused on economic development as a driver for urban renewal. Discussion in chapter five will reflect upon this as it will look to see how strategies such of these are reflective of the

just city. On a more national scale the current Coalitions decentralising policy is not too dissimilar to that of Michael Heseltine's under John Major's government and the current way in which David Cameron and George Osborne see the role of cities being reflected in city policy.

Some relationships appear to be strong but there is suggestion that there is no-one to pull it all together. The private sector seems to have the weakest links with the public and the voluntary sector but there is evidence of cross-council initiatives within the geographical boundaries of Cheetham and Broughton. Research question two sought to examine the approaches and management of urban renewal processes and who is involved within them. The question extracted information regarding participation in different layers and sectors within the city-region. In terms of management, there are evident differences to management highlighted by the ideologies, agendas and policies of Manchester and Salford Councils. It is recognised that there are certain challenges such as how city leaders prioritise decisions in recession and austerity whilst keeping economic growth going. Attracting economically active people to both cities is at the heart of their urban renewal agendas. The suggestion from the findings is that each sector is managed in silo with a gap in who is responsible in bringing relationships and processes together across the city-region. Will this be the role of the city-mayor?

Emerging from the findings has been the process of housing and commercial-led regeneration. There is strong focus on the economy and this is the main driver behind initiatives and policy. As part of this drive the city-region it is recognised that in terms of employment there is a skills gap. With a move to becoming a digital arena the city-region does not appear to have the skills to service it. Upskilling is an idea supported by all sectors as Manchester and Salford attempt to raise aspirations of their residents through investment in schools, FE and HE institutions. The economic driven development is done so in a belief that this will in turn provide enhanced social benefits for the residents in communities within the Manchester city-region.

Under extreme economic conditions, the CVS, has numerous roles in several of the processes and relationships in delivering goods and services to communities. The idea of Big Society has been raised in the findings and will be critically examined as the research looks to unpick the ideologies of this notion and what it means for people in the city. The role of faith groups also appears to have a prominent role in the heart of communities that have been affected by austerity.

Co-operative and collaborative working on the ground is testament not just to visible, but also the invisible, relationships and processes that exist outside framed local government policy. Salford Council appear to incorporate this supportive working environment with the launch of the Salford Social Charter whereby local organisations from all three sectors make a pledge to put something back into the city. The idea here seems to be the management of strategic frameworks be based around social value partnerships. Levels of participation from businesses but also resident participation as a way of looking at democracy have been examined and levels of involvement appear to be low. Providing a voice, or a platform, for local decision making by local people has arisen through this chapter and the way in which devolution is rolled out to Greater Manchester will test this.

The extent of outcomes and relationships has been examined through core research question three along with any influencing factors that can be identified. It is clear from the findings that there has been a context setting negative of recession and austerity throughout. Outcomes in social, economic and political landscapes have been focused upon and the results have thrown up the notion of ‘cooperative working’ in both research sites. Whilst evidence is quite strong in Salford of this way of working (and they recognise this) Manchester also displays characteristics of a cooperative city. This is interesting for this study as it provides another way of looking at criteria for justice and when trying to make sense of the just city concept. Despite this discovery of characteristics of a co-operative city, community and voluntary organisations are continually asked to prove their worth and discussion has looked at how small organisations are able to measure their success and provide a cost-benefit analysis of what they do. With dwindling funding and pressure on resources the number of CVS organisations has dropped in some parts of the city but around Cheetham there is evidence of organic growth of these types of small CVS organisations. These relationships have come about through organic growth, mainly in cultural organisations, as opposed to specific place-making policies. How difficult this will be, is to some extent determined by a senior council decision maker in Manchester who does not recognise the smaller community groups/CVS as a sector at all.

Whilst some organisations have struggled to survive the drive for economic development has been illustrated by the substantial number of housing developments, particularly in Salford. There has been little evidence of people displacement, but the provision of affordable housing is to be examined in the context of what is affordable to the people of Salford. Whilst efforts

have been made to accommodate existing residents of these communities there is a distinctive drive to attract economically active people to the area from other parts of Greater Manchester and beyond. Attracting people to an area is all well and good but the way in which people can move around the city has been highlighted as a concern. The findings suggest that the provision of a more extensive network has been linked to the improvement in access and opportunity to education, training and employment. The proposed local, regional and national transport plans that will affect the city have been subject to different views.

What is explicitly clear from this question is that organisations from across all three sectors have undergone massive structural changes, mainly due to the impacts of global recession and austerity measures. Emerging from this austerity urbanism though has been the emergence of co-operative working and this key thread will be taken throughout the remainder of the thesis. This interesting and unique working practice will be considered in the next chapter to see how this notion along with the other findings can help make sense of the just city concept and how it applies to the Manchester city-region.

Chapter 5

Synthesis

New hope for old industrial places: The co-operative city?

5.1 ‘Context setting’ and ‘infrastructure’ analysis.

The previous chapter provided the findings from the three research questions posed within Cheetham and Broughton by way of a narrative from which emerged some interesting themes. These themes are co-operative working and resilience, cross-sector relationships, democratic processes, participation, different attitudes to leadership and management, austerity and recession and devolution. Starting this chapter therefore, these findings from chapter four are elaborated upon further and then synthesised and will provide a platform for the contributions to knowledge in chapter six. These main themes uncovered have helped to see if the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city and if the just city concept can be made sense of through the emergent notion of the co-operative city. These themes also include discussion on the balance of economic growth and social justice agendas as part of what was found. Examining the evidence produced, the work also attempts to provide different ideas for what the just city could look like. The main themes for synthesis that emerged here though are initially introduced under two categories; context setting analysis and infrastructure analysis.

5.2 Context setting analysis

There have been many constants identified during this study and recession and austerity and the impacts of spending cuts and reduced funding are a continual backdrop to this investigation. The question of the allocation of resources and how some sections of society feel the benefit, and some do not, are examined here in the context of recession. Participation, it is contended also, and is fundamental to the process of allocating resources fairly in the city-region but how participation is encouraged and facilitated is a challenge. Sherry Arnstein, when explaining her Ladder of Participation model says that “in short it is the means by which ‘the have not’ citizens can induce significant social reform that enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (1969:216).

Focus here is on the idea of working in the context of scarcity and how residents can maximise what they have through participation and engagement. There needs to, however, be a motivation from residents to become more involved in their communities. Questions have been raised about the strength of residents and different sectors in adapting to sudden change, for example community engagement with the 'Big Society' and perceptions of the intentions and successes/failures of this concept during times of uncertainty. This work critically examines this idea of such agendas and contends that ideas such as this are taking responsibility away from central government and are used as a disguise for rolling out austerity measures. Whilst the notion of the Big Society appears to be on the face of it, a way of bringing communities together, organisational changes and the loss of history and experience in the infrastructure of key organisations in the city-region make this task a difficult one to effectively embrace. The fundamental problem here is that it is the voluntary and community sector which picks up the delivery of frontline services as the state retreats in some communities. Working with scarcity, however, has provided the opportunity for groups to work differently together – this is found in the work in terms of co-operative working.

Contributing as one of the context setting and emergent themes is the concept of devolution and a new form of centrally-run government - the Conservative-led coalition. The process of devolution and the transfer of certain powers to the Manchester city-region will impact upon the social, economic and political spaces of Greater Manchester particularly as this has been a period of recession and austerity – whether these impacts are positive or negative remain to be fully seen. In the meantime, the changes in political authority and economically driven/led agendas seem on the face of it an opportunity for people in localities to exert some effective control over their own futures but there are some fundamental questions surrounding this. This analysis of the changes in structures examines if democracy is enhanced with devolution and why there are differences in Cheetham and Broughton when they are so geographically close. If the state is redefining the role of local government there needs to be consideration as to possible economic, social and political impacts. In looking at devolution in the context of economic growth and democracy it could be argued that the Greater Manchester Combined Authority is one giant Local Enterprise Partnership but has been successful as one for some time.

Issues of the locality and scale of urban renewal processes have also arisen as a result of these political and administrative changes brought about by devolution. If the concepts of justice and fairness are considered, then the question of how equity is ensured in the city-region whilst

economic driven development is the deciding factor in urban growth agendas should also be considered. Equity according to Fainstein relies upon a distribution of benefits which have been sourced from the public purse and she claims it also, “refers not to equal treatment of every individual, but to treatment that is ‘appropriate’ or to ‘public policy that does not favour those who were better off at the beginning” (Fainstein,2010:36).

It seems that Rawls has two principles. The first being difference and the second one being liberty. The argument that he puts forward is that free individuals, behaving in a rational manner, will themselves opt for an approximate equal distribution of goods to ensure that they do not end up in a worse position. It is questionable whether devolution will facilitate this liberty that Rawls discusses based upon the fact that the devolution package for GM was not ‘full devolution’ and that residents have had a Mayor imposed upon them as part of the deal. The citizens of the city-region voted against this in a referendum in 2012.

Whilst this study takes place in an urban environment the research has concerns about equity for those who live outside cities. Equity is important to the study as the concept of justice relies upon the application of equity across all processes of urban renewal particularly concerns about equal opportunity and access. On this basis, this research would argue for regional forms of government as opposed to city-region based. Fainstein debates that “there is nothing about regional bodies that automatically makes them vehicles for greater equity than that possible in the individual cities that might make up a fragmented region” (2010:85). Thinking about equity through a local example, Media City on Salford Quays has received huge economic investment but the same cannot be said of local libraries and day nurseries in neighbouring Ordsall. At the heart of the thesis is the idea of balanced economic and social investment in the local communities of Broughton (Salford) and Cheetham (Manchester) and it appears that the economic and social drivers are unbalanced in both cities and unequal. The idea of place making solutions and a focus on the distinctiveness of place in both Salford and Manchester is a way in which leaders are trying to address the inequalities.

Having set out initially to use Susan Fainstein’s criteria for a just city as a framework for this investigation the research, as explained previously, stepped away slightly in terms of the focus of her work but still used it as an exploratory framework. Despite this, Fainstein’s criterion of diversity, democracy and equity have been part of the context setting framework for this study as a starting point at which to investigate social justice and to think about what other criteria for equitable social justice may look like. Two of the possibilities for forming criterion to

evaluate justice in this work is that of cooperative working (to be examined shortly) and the other being a concentration upon diversity, particularly social and economic diversity. Democracy and equity have a further contribution to make but this will be done later in the chapter. Fainstein (2010) contends that diversity can refer to the way in which difference is accepted in the city and the way in which it promotes neighbourhoods of an economically and culturally diverse nature. This is certainly the case with Cheetham and to a slightly lesser extent Broughton. David Harvey (2004:184) provides some additional substance to the way in which diverse communities are viewed by claiming that “place is a unique conjunction of built environments cultures and people.” This theme of diversity emerges in both research locations when examining the relationships and processes in urban renewal practice.

Important, therefore, in the context of how people work together, this work has also examined relationships between people and organisations within the three sectors involved in urban renewal. Cross sector relationships (State, Market and Civil Society) are considered here. This has been of continual interest in this work and is part of the focus of the work – the notion of co-operative working has emerged because of this interest. The existing and emerging relationships have been examined in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. The findings have provided evidence of unique relationships and diverse ways of working that have emerged and are emerging. Some of these relationships are strong and some are weak. Considering the delivery of growth agendas and who delivers them Parker (2011:79) discusses how to understand the causes and purpose of urban economic growth “we need to be able to understand the political apparatuses, processes and alliances that make particular growth possible.” Greater Manchester, it could be argued, has worked on a collaborative or co-operative basis for the last 30 years, particularly since the restructuring of the city that has taken place since the IRA bomb in the city centre in 1996. Manchester clearly had the political apparatus through strong leadership and a partnership approach to growth. This track record of successful urban renewal has potentially been reflected on central government choice of Manchester as an experiment outside of London to roll out devolution to the rest of the country. The test now is to see how, in recession and austerity, this works out with some significant context setting negatives affecting urban renewal processes.

5.3 Infrastructure analysis

Developing a different urban renewal infrastructure in Greater Manchester that incorporates elements social justice and the co-operative city should be adopted as an attempt of the just city

to protect its citizens. The synthesis of the findings here examines where the structural inequalities lie in the city-region to help develop its citizenry and the role people must play in shaping fairer and more just places to live and work. There does however need to be certain structures in place, or being developed, to assist this in times of social and political change.

One of the delivery mechanisms, emerging from the findings in chapter four, has been the process of co-operative working. There is evidence in this work to suggest Salford is working towards, and within, a specific and intentional model of co-operative working. On the other hand, Manchester displays the ability to work towards being a co-operative city but without the same recognition or investment in this specific way of working. As a result, Salford is a co-operative city and Manchester has the potential to be a co-operative city. The important connections here to the just city concept is the visionary match between sustainable/healthy communities, the just city and the co-operative city. This will form part of the contribution to knowledge in chapter six and some of that discussion will be introduced in this chapter. Difficulties facing the evolvement of the delivery of services under a more co-operative framework for delivery in Manchester and Salford have predominately been the effects of recession and austerity – the stretching of resources in such times of sudden change. It is during these periods where innovation and creativity in new working relationships have emerged however. Interestingly, some of the unique relationships and processes discovered would not have been possible in more stable economic and political conditions. Co-operative working is positioned here as a potential way of understanding the processes and mechanisms of the just city and could be considered as a fourth criteria to those offered by Fainstein.

Other themes have emerged from the work as part of the infrastructure analysis. The notion of connectivity as part of a successful infrastructure has emerged from the fieldwork. A few respondents along with this researcher's observations, have pointed to a need for increased physical, economic and social connectivity. This has not only been through the perceived need for improvement to the transport systems currently in place but also to how people/residents are able to have greater access and opportunity to health, employment, training and education in the city-region. This is important to this work as there are links between concepts of connectivity and greater co-operation that could ultimately help deliver justice through urban renewal.

Whilst improvements to the transport infrastructure can put wealth back into the city centre the question remains as to how this will benefit those in outlying communities away from the

economic hub. This brings into play the question of what happens if you do not live in a city-region. For example, there is much debate, some explored in the interview findings, about the proposed HS2 rail network and how/what it will be used for. This encompasses thoughts about the subsequent economic and social impacts, but as highlighted in some of the findings, some stakeholders see it as secondary to being able to effectively travel around Greater Manchester. It is generally felt that this needs to be a priority before major investment is thought about in linking Greater Manchester to other parts of the country. It has been argued by others though that with the unofficial label of the Northern Powerhouse that these national and international links are essential. With a focus from Manchester and Salford's public and private sectors on attracting economically active people the question remains as to where the scale of investment should be – a focus on the local, regional or national?

Also emerging from the findings in terms of connectivity has been the ability to access opportunity. Some of this has been the issue around education provision and the role of schools, further and higher education and the city's district centres. The role of the university and upskilling the community has been highlighted particularly in providing a workforce that can cope for example with Manchester's and Salford's growing digital and informational economy and the employment opportunities that go with it. As a result, there are links to education and the subsequent improvement of life chances the health and wellbeing of residents in communities. Participation and engagement are key here and this work argues that this could be through pluralist approaches.

The core research questions were designed to discover how the relationships within the complex urban infrastructure of the city-region are managed and as such some interesting ideas were uncovered regarding the management and leadership. There have been, and are, some shifts in the way the large metropolis of Greater Manchester is being governed relating to the delivery and management of services whilst the structure of the local state has been reconfigured. Illustrated in the findings, particularly in Manchester, has been evidence of an assertive delivery approach of strategic frameworks which are focused on economic drivers in the city. This assertive delivery is interpreted as bordering on a patriarchal method of service delivery which opens discussion as to how this type of leadership fits with the idea of democracy. Power and politics come into play here in the context of who is best placed to make decisions for the benefit of the citizens. It also brings into question the democratic processes and in the context of this work, deliberative and participatory democracy. These very notions were explored earlier in chapter two.

Approaches to, and the management of, urban renewal and growth agendas requires various actors to come together and this needs effective management. The question remains however as to who joins it all together. These last two chapters look to examine how the combined authority which has already been working on a collaborative basis for 30 years, will embrace and manage changes in the city infrastructure under the guidelines of a devolution agreement and under challenging economic conditions.

Salford, despite a similar political concentration upon economic driven development, seems to place greater emphasis upon an ideology of a 'social city'. This is epitomised by the council's commitment to a 'social charter' for organisations across all three sectors in Salford. The identity of Salford and Salfordians has been another important finding that will be critically examined in terms of the effect of identity upon co-operative working. During the launch conference of the Social Charter in Salford the language of a co-operative city was used throughout and it was clear that a definitive and proud identity and recognition of Salford was a key driven in bringing groups together to work co-operatively. This idea has been further exemplified by evidence found within certain physical and social assets. These examples presented in chapter four lend themselves to supporting the idea of co-operation as a way forward for communities to thrive even during times of recession and austerity. This work will propose that cooperative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the just city might be brought about.

The formal and informal governance of this co-operative working has been found within the political and administrative structures in the city and it has been the public and voluntary sectors particularly that have defined this way of working. The political and administrative structures in Salford are attempting to actively promote the idea of co-operation and collaboration and there is physical evidence (detailed below) to support this. Some social enterprise organisations that are not part of the official apparatus also play a part in community infrastructure, but it appears at city leader level, in Manchester, that this is not the case despite what is actually happening on the ground. Whatever the strategy, it is appreciated that there have been tough decisions to make. The difficulty with these decisions has been how some of the elite decision makers prioritise things in recession and austerity whilst keeping economic growth going. Therefore, leadership and the cultural ethos of the local authority is key in determining how and where economic and social investment should be made, and to what ends these decisions are designed to achieve.

Having split the summary into two categories of context setting and architectural analysis the remainder of this chapter will attempt to synthesise the evidence gathered within these.

5.4 Collaborative, cooperative and cross sector relationships

“Public policy is not implemented by buildings or systems or procedures; it is implemented by people. The active dynamic in relationship between the state and civil society is human imagination. We cannot achieve the relationships we need by harnessing a few highly intelligent imaginations at the center and crushing hundreds and thousands of others into a semblance of a machine. It is the energy of human imagination in every encounter that will create the relationships we need for the future.” Gos (2001:2017)

The first of the research question sought to uncover the processes and relationships involved in urban renewal in Broughton (Salford), Cheetham (Manchester) and the city-region of Greater Manchester. The main thematic point emerging from this was how people and organisations work with one another in the city-region. Earlier in the thesis Leibovitz (2003) claimed that there is still a belief that policies on a regional scale are better than those made on a national scale as they can provide a co-operative citizenry and society that is required within the concept of democracy. This thesis argues of these relationships that a co-operative citizenry is not just required within the concept of democracy but that it makes a much greater contribution in trying to make sense of the just city concept and how it can be central in understanding the mechanisms and processes of how the just city might be promoted and realised in the Manchester city-region.

It is essential to try and gain an understanding of the spatial context in which all of this is set. There are certain boundary perceptions and realities that impact upon where people have and will need to integrate with one another in the future. At the heart of the research questions was an interest in what the structural movement to a city-region would actually mean for communities and the people who live in them. There has been much recent attention and focus from people inside and outside of the administrative boundary of the Manchester city-region. This understanding of relationships and how the city receives and integrates the idea of permeable boundaries is exemplified by those people who live outside the administrative boundary but cross it to work and vice versa. The creation of regional devolution would reduce this problem of inequalities that will be levied upon people dependent on whether they live inside or outside the investment boundaries of the city-region.

Within some of the sectors it is suggested that cross-sector relationships are fragile with no one person or organisation best placed to pull it together. Within the process of devolution there is confusion in terms of coordination and who takes a lead role. Gosling and Maitland (1984:14) debate this very idea and state that “the invisibility of social structures to outsiders, and the persistence of easy, stereotyped but inaccurate notions of what life is like in other people’s sectors of the city can affect planning decisions greatly”.

The other aspect to this is to question whether the voluntary sector can step in as a process of deinstitutionalisation takes place, as the state slowly retreats in some communities, but perhaps not all. This is where co-operative working helps pick up the delivery of frontline services, but this way of working should be encouraged and should not be forced out of necessity. The city leaders are at the same time, compromised, but content to be focused on economic growth in the mistaken belief that they are becoming masters of their own destiny, but that this is at the expense of social needs. It is difficult, and perhaps unfair, to levy any real historic criticism towards the leaders of Manchester City Council in terms of economic regeneration, although there are gaps in attempts to enhance the social fabric on more local scales. The context of this is about economic growth as opposed to the ideologies of social justice or a fairer society. Devolution is the latest attempt to make cities responsible for their own growth but with less, and the LEPs and the city growth agenda are part of this.

As well as providing some spatial analysis within the context of the relationships the shifting political and administrative boundary will be examined to speculate on the impacts upon achieving some sort of justice for communities. Some relationships in Greater Manchester are stable/strong in their own right but there appears to be suggestion that there is no one to cohesively pull it all together. Partnerships or ‘co-production’ and cooperation is a key emerging theme to address this but how can the City of Manchester form good sector relationships when the view from the top (discussed in the findings) is one that does not recognize the CVS for example. There have been some contradictions from the messages from assertive deliverers of strategy to the reality of what is actually happening on the ground. This is exemplified in Cheetham where one ward coordinator attributes many of the successes of community social and economic growth to the ability of small community and voluntary groups to be creative and work co-operatively in the face of sudden change. To try and visualise the stability of relationships the table below is an interpretation from the findings by the researcher of the strength of relationships in the two areas of research.

Table 7. The strength of the relationships between the two wards and their respective governing councils – including indications of evidence for just city evaluative criterion.

Sector	Sector	Relationship	Diversity	Democracy	Equity	Cooperative
Manchester Public Sector	Manchester Private Sector	Strong	x	x	x	x
Cheetham Public Sector	Cheetham Private Sector	Stable			x	x
Manchester Public Sector	Manchester 3 rd Sector	Weak	x			
Cheetham Public Sector	Cheetham 3 rd Sector	Strong	x	x	x	x
Manchester 3 rd Sector	Manchester Private Sector	Weak				x
Cheetham 3 rd Sector	Cheetham Private Sector	Weak	x			x
Salford Public Sector	Salford 3 rd Sector	Strong	x	x	x	x
Broughton Public Sector	Broughton 3 rd Sector	Strong	x	x	x	x
Salford Public Sector	Salford Private Sector	Stable	x			x

Broughton Public Sector	Broughton Private Sector	Stable	x			x
Salford 3rd Sector	Salford Private Sector.	Weak/Stable				x
Broughton 3 rd Sector	Broughton Private Sector	Stable	x			x

5.5 Approaches and management in the city-region of Greater Manchester

Large-scale economic restructuring and accompanying social problems in the 1980s saw Manchester “adapt more swiftly and effectively to the demands of an evolving ‘information economy’” (Castells, 1989, 1996). Manchester continues to be a Labour-dominated city region and has had just two leaders since 1984. Boddy and Parkinson (2004) contend that both leaders “quickly realised the limitations of any development strategy that could not trigger external support within public and private sectors.” These two leaders, Richard Leese and Howard Bernstein have been instrumental in the development of Greater Manchester.

Having introduced the idea of paternalistic leadership and some related issues with democratic structures and processes, Susan Fainstein and Manchester Council members appear to take a liberal stance. When questioning some of the decision-making interviewees it became clear that ‘partnerships and not contracts’ is a view held by both councils in attempt to promote collaborative and co-operative working. Manchester however appears strategically focused, in this context, in attracting economically active people and the balance here is in favour of economic investment over social investment with the idea being that the social benefits will trickle down to communities.

Fainstein concludes her discussion on philosophies of justice by laying out a general rule for choosing between policy alternatives. Of that she argues that “We should opt for that alternative that improves the lot of the relatively disadvantaged or minimally does not harm them”. Salford council’s agenda is similar but there is more evidence in their political structures and policies

to suggest that this is not their only main driving force. The fundamental issue here is the question of how long the benefits take to trickle down to those in need in the city. Some local development areas however are suffering as they are not attracting the required percentage of economically active people calling into question the focus of property/commercial led regeneration.

More culturally diverse neighbourhoods, as now found in Salford, have been created though. The positive, but perhaps not equitable, change in demographic of New Broughton Village in Broughton has been an attempt to create a catalyst for social and economic growth. Theoretically, Fraser (2003:10) debates that “the task is to devise a two-dimensional conception of justice that can accommodate both defensible claims for social equality and defensible claims for the recognition of difference.” Iris Marriot Young (1990:47) states, regarding difference, “I believe that group differentiation is both an inevitable and desirable aspect of modern social process. Social justice requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression”.

With the heavy focus on building houses, Manchester has the available land to meet housing targets but is the housing affordable and equitable in terms of accessibility? Projects such as the New Broughton Village in Lower Broughton (Salford) have allegedly witnessed reasonably low levels of people displacement in this area but the uptake of houses has been not just dependent upon people’s levels of incomes, but the number of jobs created to allow people to afford private housing in the first place. Fainstein’s just city model but she does acknowledge that when citizens are displaced against their wishes, then according to Fainstein “equity and democracy are not served” (2010:73). She discusses further that residents on low incomes may not feel a sense of civic pride or ownership, even if services have been improved, if the area has been diversified under certain gentrified conditions but also adds, “urban renewal policies which force poor minority households to relocate from neighbourhoods where they are concentrated may increase diversity at the cost of equity and democracy.” (Fainstein, 2010:73).

Involved in this synthesis chapter has been the closer examination of democracy, diversity and equity along with any other potential emergent criteria for a just city. Firstly, Schmitter and Karl (1991:76) state that “Democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.” It could be fair to say that democracy is not complete just because accountability and elections are present. Fainstein

(2010) finds it difficult to comprehend democracy in its current format without important components such as civil liberties, human rights and a culture of compromise and co-operation. This view is considered when trying to make sense of the just city through the co-operative city in this work. Fainstein (2010), sees democracy as the way it “can refer to the extent to which a community demands find their way into government policy”.

Purcell (2007) puts forward the argument that “participatory democrats suggest that a citizen only reaches his or her full human potential by participating in public decisions”. This is an argument that appears to be echoed by Barber (2004) and Pateman (1970). The result of this type of democracy, according to Purcell should be the “development of energetic, wise and active citizens, more than it is the realisation of a particular political agenda” (Purcell 2007:200). Participation in systems of governance then seems fundamental to any healthy democracy and perhaps essential for determining a level at which to investigate potential evaluative criteria in the search for a fairer society.

The political and administrative way in which the city-region is now run through the devolution agenda is yet, however, to provide detail on how democratic the processes of decision making will actually be. Such participation however seems sometimes to be enshrined by legislative means such as constitutions, or through the choice and design of electoral systems, this work attempts to seek out other alternatives, Banks (2004:141) “a thoughtful citizenry that believes in democratic ideals and is willing and able to participate in the civic life of the nation is essential for the creation and survival of a democratic society. Reflective and active democratic citizens make decisions and take action in the public interest.”

Lynd (1965:35), states that participatory democracy seeks to achieve specifically two things. These are that regarding decision making should be undertaken by all individuals particularly those that affect the conduct and quality of their life. Lynd also debates that society needs to be arranged in such a way so as to facilitate this participation. It could be argued that a transition, democratically, to the end product of diversity is problem laden as Fainstein (2010:168) concludes that “where national cultures are more defined and deeply rooted, the juxtaposition of differing cultural traditions is fraught with tension”. Arendt (1988) argues that “no one could be called either happy or free without participating, and having a share, in public power” (1988:255).

It may be quite a task to establish a priority as to what the ideal scale of organising governance is. Storper (1997) suggests “that governance structures at the city-region scale may or may not be more democratic than smaller or larger-scale structures”. Could it therefore be argued that relationships and scale are a product of society?

Tied in with this notion of employment Greater Manchester is increasingly viewed as the transport and economic hub for the North-West and the second city in England. The evident problem within Greater Manchester is the ability for people to travel effectively within their own city to allow greater access and opportunity to find education, training and employment opportunities. Interview data has suggested that Salford is perceived by residents as a poorer neighbour to Manchester in terms of transport and investment. Whilst debate surrounds the concepts of HS2 and HS3 the interest from some representatives in the city-region think that local connectivity issues are more pressing and worthier of the attentions of investment on a local scale before embarking upon ambitious regional and national projects. An example of this has been through the development of Salford Quays where residents of the neighbouring ward of Ordsall have voiced their opinion that they feel excluded from this flagship development in the city.

With this local contest of identity and inclusion evident it has been debated by some of the contributors to this work that there are also identity issues when thinking about the benefits of a city region in the context of local communities – many of which do not understand the concept or potential impacts of a city region upon their identity. There are some identity issues/contests within the Broughton developments however as they use Manchester as the marketing tool to attract new residents. They advertise ‘live 1 mile from the city centre’. These contests of identity are evident in other parts of Salford, in particular Salford Quays.

In terms of how the city-region is managed, if the Coalition initially, and Osborne now, are serious about devolution then they would likely pay more attention to those such as Sir Bernstein and Leese who appear to us to be able to understand local need. They therefore seem better equipped to make decisions on the deployment of resources to the benefit of the people in the Greater Manchester city-region. This illustrates the weakness of the devolution agenda currently led by Osborne. On the one hand, he seems to lean on the leadership of the city-region to legitimise his agenda, but on the other refuses to commit to a more expansive devolution that would truly empower the politicians and officers across the Greater Manchester combined authority.

The fact that eight of the ten borough councils have (for the most part) been Labour-controlled since 1986, has helped maintain an informal co-operation between the districts at a city-region scale for a number of years. There seems to be an effective working balance between the administrative leadership of Bernstein and the political leadership of a city region through Leese and with their counterparts in Westminster. This working balance and management within Manchester is epitomised by comments from Goldsmith (2001) who argues that good “management is a matter of people and institutions” meaning that leaders in a period of globalisation and changing government scales must be “able to coordinate and broker constellations of parties, interest groups, urban movements and the different scales and networks of government that coalesce within the metropolis.”

5.6 Context setting negatives of recession and austerity.

It has been widely reported that the global economic recession, which we are still in, started in 2008. This work has therefore been conducted at the height of recession witnessed by subsequent austerity cuts across all three sectors and thus there have been huge structural and organisational changes in cities. Contributions to the findings are overwhelming in their illustrations of how recession and austerity has affected all areas of urban renewal. Because of austerity measures regional structural and organisational changes have been quite evident, for example the North West Regional Development Agency being reformed as the Homes and Communities Agency. Local public sector structural and organisational changes are also very apparent in the loss of staff and reductions in key public services and funding opportunities for the community and voluntary sector to deliver some goods and essential services.

The Coalition government led by David Cameron came to power in 2010 with a decentralised, localised policy agenda in planning. Indeed, Lowndes and Pratchett (2011) discuss that the Coalition’s reforms do show traces of an ideological commitment to localism and a new understanding of local self-government and that there is an ideological agenda which has the potential to deliver a radically different form of local governance. The Coalition government has provided this localised agenda that has been implemented, in part, through the establishment of procedures for neighbourhood planning. However, along with these procedures have come hand-in-hand with cuts to public sector spending that has had massive impacts upon various layers of the city-region. Whilst the Localism Act (2011) was introduced

at devolving local powers, and the Coalition thought that perhaps the more power they can decentralise the better, but at the same time they centralised schools and health for example.

Some of these reductions in funding opportunities it could be argued have promoted co-operative working between groups that ordinarily, in more prosperous times, would perhaps not have come together. There are problems however of shared funding on shared outcomes for third sector organisations that do decide to come together but there has also been an opportunity for groups to share their physical and cultural assets to achieve positive outcomes. The Wi-Yin (Chinese Cultural Women's Group) working with Somali asylum seekers at the Ukrainian centre is an example of this collaborative/co-operative working in Cheetham.

Recession and austerity have exposed the vulnerability of public sectors workers, evidenced through the loss of experience and historical understanding in community regeneration and management teams. Referring to the Salford Regeneration Team, they lost four members of staff with over 100 years of experience between them. This, as explained by one of the respondents in this team, has had a significant impact upon the local communities as relationships that had been built over many years in some communities had been damaged or lost. This was expressed in terms of resident engagement in local initiatives rolled out by the public sector was now not at a lower level than it once was.

Closely related to this loss of experience, expertise and the financial ability of local councils to support some basic service provision is the roll that the voluntary is now expected to carry out. The third sector appears to have had to pick up, without financial assistance, some of the services the council have reduced or eradicated due to austerity spending cuts. Without this sector and the recognition of the work it does what would be the true economic and social state of local and wider communities in Greater Manchester. Thinking about this in terms of the negative leadership views of the role of the smaller CVS organisations in GM there are some real contradictions in terms of the value that this sector provides. Perhaps with more financial investment from public and private sectors into the third sector there would be more opportunity to see social capital rise more in line with economic capital which appears to be the fulcrum of strategic decision making within the city's councils.

Within Cheetham there is evidence of financial investment in housing and retail developments such as Manchester Fort Shopping Centre and the regeneration of Cheetham Centre shopping district. There are however areas within Cheetham that appear to have been afforded no or very little attention. The area of Cheetwood has provided opportunity for a micro analysis of an area

outside the Cheetham corridor of investment but still within the Cheetham ward administrative boundary. This area has very few community groups or evidence of regeneration, but The Big Life Group lifeline shop has witnessed a dramatic increase in residents requiring their food provision services.

5.7 Making sense of the just city through the concept of the co-operative city

During the fieldwork, the research data collection started to reveal some elements and indicators of co-operative working in one of the research sites. Interviews and observations in Salford have revealed a recent reintroduction of co-operative organisations in the form of credit unions and community banks. There are some interesting links between notions of the just city and those of the co-operative city. These are of value and inter-related to this project and worthy of further examination in the synthesis chapter as it provides one of the fundamental contributions to knowledge for this work. Huxham (2000:339) points out that “many words are used to describe governance structures that involve cross organisational working. These include partnership, alliance, collaboration, cooperation network, joint working and multi-party working”. Practitioners present different meanings for these terms and there seems to be no consistency in how this type of working is described so the terminology remains confusing. What is clear though is that this work defines working together in the context of this work as ‘co-operative and the work seeks to evidence this through working practices in Salford and Manchester.

Salford brands itself as a co-operative city and attempts are made to work more towards historical co-operative ideologies. Manchester on the other hand appears to be working co-operatively between and within different sectors, but the city itself does not recognise the potential it has to become a co-operative city. The question arises here is, what does Manchester want to be? It wants to be the flagship for economic growth in the north of England and a whole host more. Co-operatives have been described as organisations that “Are owned and run by their members whether these members are customers, employees or local residents, all are given an equal say in what the business does or a share in the profits” (Co-op party, 2014:1). Over one billion people across the world are members of co-operatives and the Rochdale Pioneers still influence the principles that co-operatives adhere to today. Throughout this work

the notion of collaboration and co-operation has frequently emerged and is worthy of further examination as a theoretical contribution.

Unlike many other types of businesses who commonly have external shareholders, co-operatives are concerned with ensuring that all members can contribute in deciding what will be done with the profits. These decisions are normally based upon re-investment in the organisation or back into the community in various ways. The International Co-operative Alliance's define a co-operative as "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically-controlled enterprise" (ICA, 2004).

In terms of how a co-operative works it may appear to be like most businesses, but it is the mechanics of how they operate that makes them vastly different. "There are over 5,450 independent co-operative businesses in the UK in all parts of the economy. Although they carry out all kinds of business, co-operatives everywhere all have one thing in common. A co-operative business is one that believes in the" (ICA, 2004). These principles are that they have an open membership and are run on a voluntary basis and that there is also democratic control and participation by the membership. This also includes a concern for the community that is shared co-operatively by other co-operatives. This means that co-operatives should be working to develop and sustain their communities.

As previously mentioned, notions of co-operative working began to appear in the fieldwork in the city of Salford. This has allowed some thought and consideration as to the role of such a notion has when examining concepts of the just city and if there are any evident similarities, differences or any fundamental inter-relationships. Examination at this stage is focused on credit unions and community banks in Salford and will look to examine if the notion of Salford as a co-operative city presents evidence of the co-operative movement growing in Salford. The discussion will evolve to see if sectors in Manchester, who displays traits of cooperative working, has the potential to build on this to be a co-operative city.

A co-operative ("co-op") can be described as "businesses that are owned and run by and for their members, whether they are customers, employees or residents. As well as giving members an equal say and share of the profits, co-operatives act together to build a better world" (Co-op UK, 2014). There are three distinct types of co-operative. Firstly, a consumer co-operative is

an organisation that is managed, owned and used by the same people. Secondly, a worker co-operative is one that is owned and managed by the people that work there and thirdly housing co-operatives are owned and managed by the people who live there. There are also other types of hybrid co-operatives such as credit unions – as found in Salford.

Co-operative working in Salford, in one instance, dates to 1835 in George Street where a co-operative social institution was opened. This co-operative movement soon grew and the building (holding 600) was not large enough to hold the growing number of meetings and meetings. As a result, these co-operators needed to build new premises, these are now recognised as the Science Hall in Campfield – now part of the Museum of Science and Industry. It is said that during the 1940s Frederik Engels attended some of these meetings.

The Salford Co-operative Commission, set up in 2012, is the driving force behind this community led co-operative way of thinking. The Council is working with local residents so that they can have a greater say in every aspect of council service provision. It is hoped that communities and individuals are now able to fully influence and shape the ‘City Plan’, as it evolves over the forthcoming years. The council are attempting to re-energise all citywide community involvement and engagement, including community committees, so that local people are at the heart of everything they do. Government, the private sector, community groups and local residents have to work together to address the challenges of the 21st century – it is through co-operative working that this research envisages is the key role to help achieve this and create a new hope for what was once a prosperous industrial community.

Below is a conceptual infrastructure table of the just city to make sense of what the ‘co-operative city’ looks like. This is a speculative criteria list based and the literature review and findings.

Diversity, Democracy, Equity and Co-operative Working

Themes of the Just city	Manchester	Salford
The Economy	Commercial and property-led economic regeneration.	Similar focus on economic driven development. Equity in redistribution and fairness, Credit Unions,

	Some pockets of flourishing diverse economies mainly around the city-centre.	Money Lines, Bank of Salford, Salford's Social City Charter. Skills and knowledge are key here also.
Shelter and the physical environment	Attempting to solve the housing crisis through high rise living in the city centre. More attention required towards social housing provision.	Investment in new affordable housing and Green Space such as Broughton Village
Networks for transport and connectivity to different places	Improvements being taken to improve connectivity – metrolink expansion, airport expansion, M60 upgrades. Improvements should enhance connecting people to services and jobs	Affordable and accessible transport. Some transport systems such as bus routes need improvement but there has been heavy investment in the Metrolink line. Peel holdings creation of the Atlantic Gateway will improve freight transport and connectivity of freight goods in and out of the Manchester City Region
Public service provision	These services should be appropriate to people's needs and accessible to all, but recession and austerity cut have reduced the quantity of frontline services.	Salford Council tried to resist the cuts where possible but have been subject to a reduction in public services. There is however a strong CVS in Salford that 'picks up the slack' and more.
Considerations for the environment	Manchester is addressing some of the environmental issues. More cycle lanes in the city are contributing to this as is the way planning and development businesses are being	Salford has a deputy mayor for the environment. Salford is committed to creating a green sustainable city. The Manchester Ship canal has been targeted to once again as

	encouraged to put more back into the city	an environmentally friendly way of moving freight into and out of Manchester to ease the pressure on the road network.
Inclusivity and acceptance of social and cultural difference.	Historically Manchester has been open to difference and the diverse communities in Greater Manchester are testimony to this. This has created an inclusive environment that is enriched by the visibility of different cultures that share activities in most of the communities	Co-operative working in this area would involve diverse ranges of groups across all sectors working together with a common goal. The demographic of Salford is also changing so whilst it still retains a higher than national average Jewish community there are increases in the number of African, South Asian, Eastern European and Middle Eastern Communities.
Fairness and equitable distribution of goods and services	Manchester could be viewed as an economic powerhouse in the north of England. There are concerns about equity and fairness for those that do not live in a city-region as the drive for development seems to be centred mainly in the city centre.	The co-operative city should share these same values in establishing sustainable and fair communities for future generations. The Salford 'Social City Charter' is a way in which those at risk and in need are considered when re-investing in 'all' local communities in Salford.
Management	Manchester and the city-region has benefitted from strong effective leadership for the last thirty years and the GMCA has worked collaboratively during this time. The	Manchester has benefitted from a collaborative approach to governing the GMCA, but Salford has a different structure. In Salford the

	devolution package recently agreed has cast some doubt over resident participation in developing the city region.	creation of a ‘City Mayor’ (for more than ceremonial purposes) and a ten-strong layer of ‘Deputy Mayors’ below that position has provided mixed reactions.
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Table 8. The visionary match between the just city and the co-operative city.

Salford City Council in some regard consider the city as a co-operative one with evidence herein to support that claim. They think of a co-operative as “a group of people acting together to meet the common needs and aspirations of its members – who can be the employees, the local community or customers for instance - sharing ownership and making decisions democratically.” (Salford Council 2014). The council also reportedly states that is “working closely with local organisations, communities and groups - this is what we are doing to help build a resilient city. Salford people want to be part of strong local communities where they know their neighbours and everyone can play an active role, from watching out for each other to taking a role in helping individuals. We live in challenging times, but Salford people are resilient, with the ability to cope positively with change and to make the most of opportunities. This is the spirit of Salford”.

Salford is working to become the most co-operative and innovative city in the north of England. If this is to be the case, they need to focus on their strengths in Salford and invest in them. This includes the skills and knowledge of communities, protecting the natural environment and building an economy which benefits everyone. Co-operative concepts such as self-help, self-responsibility and solidarity will be key to any successful future. There should also be an aim to revitalise community engagement, build strong social networks, develop social support and inclusion together with more community-based services, which enable people to stay at or close to home and fulfil their full potential. This is questionable now though given previous discussion in this chapter concerning low levels of participation due to key officials no longer providing knowledge, experience and expertise in communities.

In demonstrating the actual working examples found in Broughton, that are discussed above and highlighted in the findings, the Salford Credit Union is referred to here. “Credit Unions are financial co-operatives in which savings and loans are operated by the users. Members make a

regular saving and become eligible to take out loans at low rates of interest. The benefits of credit unions are that they encourage regular savings habits, give access to affordable loans, break the grip of exploitation by loan sharks and strengthen civil society” (Tallon, 2010:151). Credit unions consist of people with a commonality and the credit union in Salford serves everyone in Salford and also residents living in the following Manchester postcodes – M25, M9 and M8 (Manchester wards that have a boundary with Salford). When someone joins this credit union they are issued with a share account as they become an owner of that particular credit union. Owners are also covered by the same regulator authority as over private enterprises including the Financial Conduct Authority and are also protected by the Financial Services Compensation Scheme.

“They can serve as a catalyst for personal development of their members, who run the credit-union co-operatively and they can assist with community development by providing a useful service encouraging participatory democracy and sometimes funding community projects from their own profits” (Blackman 1995:214)

Salford also has its own Bank of Salford. Bajo (2014:216) argues that "Cooperative banks build up counter-cyclical buffers that function well in case of a crisis and are less likely to lead members and clients towards a debt trap”. Salford Money Line, which is part of the Bank of Salford which is recognised as one of thirteen such like banks currently operating across the UK. This bank and money line have been created to help assist in meeting local need and help reduce the amount of illegal money lending and loan sharking in Salford and has in part been supported by the University of Salford. Salford Money Line has over £1.8 million on reserve to help local enterprises and individuals.

Evaluation of the bank and money line has been conducted by the University to recommend that this co-operative financial service could be rolled out on a national basis. Due to early successes of this type of community banking there is discussion surrounding opening a rural bank and a further five city-based banks.

Considering the theoretical contribution in this work the previous table provided a speculative visionary match between the just city and the co-operative city. The table below however speculates on what the key infrastructure might look like in both the just and cooperative city and provides some examples found to substantiate the idea. This is shown in table 9 below.

<u>Infrastructure of a Co-op City</u>	<u>Infrastructure of the just city</u>	<u>Evidence of both in Broughton, Salford</u>	<u>Evidence of both in Cheetham, Manchester</u>
Voluntary and open membership – inclusive and acceptant of difference	Democracy and transparency. A strong community identity.	Faith Groups, Social Value Charter, Salford CVS (a strong CVS)	Community groups and diverse population. No real community cohesion issues. No CVS.
Democratic member (resident) control	Democracy and pluralism in decision making	Social Value City.	Devolution - Will local decision making be fundamental?
Equal access and opportunity to participate in the economic structures in cities. Co-operative enterprises	Equal access and opportunity for all.	Bank of Salford, Salford Credit Union, Salford Money Line.	Formal and informal economies. Residents participate in the local supply and demand chain.
Autonomy and strong independent communities.	Decisions made from and within local communities. Bottom up approaches to decision making	Salford as a city in its own right in the Greater Manchester Combined Authority	Manchester has strong relations with central government with a move to local governance through the devolution agreement signed in Nov 2014.
Education – co-operative councils could ensure that education is part of the agenda	Equitable standard of education delivered despite economic or social background	Investment in schools such as the Riverside Primary and Secondary School in Broughton	Abraham Moss Community Learning Centre is now more accessible and has benefitted from physical investment.

Training and Information	Skills and knowledge to be accessible to all	Upskilling of residents to work in Media City. University plays an important role.	Investment in training in digital arenas. Technological investment in parts of the city. Manchester Science Park for example.
Co-operation among co-operatives	Collaborative working with diverse groups with fair objectives to be administered and managed by representatives from all levels of the city. Partnerships not Contracts.	Salford does market a 'co-operative city' to some extent. There is evidence of collaboration between co-operatives e.g. Salford Money Line, Bank of Salford and Salford Credit Union.	Organisations in Manchester work cooperatively but are not supported as such through policy
Management of relationships and processes are shared amongst members (residents)	Skilled and creative democratically elected leaders.	Patriarchal at times set within strategic frameworks. A City Mayor will oversee this now. GMCA still has important role to play.	City Mayor leads ten deputy mayors each responsible for a different area.
Concern for the community	Provision of equitable accessible and mobility.	Salford Social Charter	Cultural-led activity which develops organically, particularly in Cheetham

Table 9 Infrastructure table for a visionary match between the just city and co-operative city

Could this be the way forward to assist in delivering social justice? Matching up the concept of co-operation and the agenda of the city region. If a neighbourhood is co-operative, then local people are making decisions that affect their lives through a democratic and fair structure.

Where the profits and risks (social and economic) are shared. It is the opinion of this work that this would be a more effective strategy if we are to think about ways of working in recession and austerity and sudden change. John Rawls (1971:242-248), argues, that neither a socialist command economy nor capitalist laissez-faire one can achieve justice.

The synthesis of this chapter has attempted to narrow the focus of the finding in relation to what this research set out to do. Whilst there has been some affirmation of some of the early thoughts and perceptions of this researcher, there have also been some interesting findings that constitute a contribution to knowledge. These contributions mainly consist of the emergence of the co-operative city notion and how it allows the just city to be made sense of. By aligning the characteristics of the just city against what was found in the Manchester city-region it has been possible to see how both cities have the potential to be co-operative. Whilst the scale and structure of the Manchester city-region determines the best criteria for the just city, but by looking at this through a co-operative lens it is possible to see the similarities and match between the two.

The last chapter will therefore conclude, as the contributions to knowledge, about how it is possible to use the notion of the 'co-operative city' to make sense of the 'just city' along with what this criterion for a more just city looks like and how it could be realised. More specifically this work now suggests that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the 'just city' might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein. Accompanying this will be further contribution regarding the challenges of applying 'justice' criteria for global cities to a city with differing scales and structures whilst experiencing shifts in political authority in periods of uncertainty and change in order to provide some substance to the claim.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Contribution to Knowledge

6.1 The duality of economic growth and social justice in the co-operative Manchester city-region.

“The systems by which cities are managed and accountable-governance-is receiving new attention. Though democracy is spreading, its promises of participation are not always fulfilled. Power is shifting, particularly towards subsidiarity from the state to regions and districts within them to partnerships between public, private and voluntary sectors.” Landry (2015)

Examining the just city and the balance between economic-driven development and social justice in the Manchester city-region has been the catalyst for the emergence of the co-operative city in this work. This work argues that the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city. Whilst the aim has not been to measure, quantitatively, the balance between economic and social investment it has been possible to investigate the influences that have come to bear on the urban renewal processes and to see how the Manchester city region has the potential to be a just city. This was highlighted to the researcher when asked at a conference ‘How are you measuring social justice?’ At this point, there was a realisation that measuring social justice would be an impossible task but needed careful consideration as to how it was being incorporated in this work.

Social justice, for the purpose of this work, is viewed in terms of poverty and the social pillars of society – health, education, housing, employment and social security as the underlying justice issue to be addressed. It has also been safeguarded in the context of the city. This is to say that this work considers social justice in terms of equal access and opportunity for people in society, through a fair allocation and distribution of goods, services and resources. Social justice is not a term limited to one specific phenomenon, situation or environment but for this

work it has been considered in terms of cities and urban renewal therefore incorporating a socio-economic view of justice. From the findings and synthesis, the balance of investment in renewal processes clearly lies with using economic growth as a vehicle for social change but this has been massively hindered by the effects of recession and austerity. To overcome these hindrances and challenges this work suggests that social justice and the notion of the just city can be better understood through thinking about working co-operatively together.

This researcher feels that this piece of work has helped examine the nature/criteria for social justice in a city region by providing evidenced ideas as to what a just city might look like and suggests a unique working practice to achieve this. This work concludes that the Manchester city region has the potential to be a just city as Salford is currently working on a co-operative basis and some layers within Manchester are also doing so. There are some disparities in the way this collaborative practice is managed though. The just city, through these cases in the Manchester city-region, can be made sense of through the co-operative city. The initial criteria of diversity, democracy and equity for a just city, suggested by Susan Fainstein, did have merit in being used as an exploratory framework for searching for justice in cities and it was through using an adaptation of her framework that the co-operative city emerged. This researcher decided early on that attempting to guide the study using only her the three concepts of diversity, democracy and equity was not a robust enough mechanism for investigating the just city and that Fainsteins language did not go deep enough. This is because the Manchester city-region is a completely different city to those global cities that Fainstein researches within and bases her criteria upon.

What has emerged from the work is that it has been possible to make sense of the just city by using co-operative working as an additional criterion within urban renewal processes to those provided by Fainstein. The co-operative city shares similar characteristics to the just city but is a more tangible way of viewing justice and fairness in cities. The relevance of this is that co-operative working is a unique way of working together that contributes to the just city. This is despite the challenges of recession, austerity urbanism and changes in political authority. Interestingly some of this co-operative working that has been evidenced would not have been taking place in more stable conditions. The concluding comments in the remainder of this chapter are made by reflecting on the relevance of the co-operation between the two places to reframe, rework and develop the notion of the just city through a visionary accommodation of the co-operative city.

Set within a broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity the claim to originality in this work is done through interrogating and adapting Fainstein's notion of the 'just city', to position co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester City Region. More specifically this work claims that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the 'just city' might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

This chapter provides a platform to highlight and critically evaluate the emergence of the key conceptual, theoretical and methodological contribution above. The main points therefore for discussion, each in turn, from the findings/synthesis that support this original contribution to knowledge are:

- 1) Using the notion of the 'co-operative city' to make sense of the 'just city'. Co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the 'just city' might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein
- 2) What this researcher's criteria for a more just city look like – what the architectural infrastructure is that contributes to the just city and how Fainsteins adapted model and criteria can be added to with a fourth criteria.
- 3) The challenges of applying 'justice' criteria for global cities to a city with differing scales and structures. The unique (in the UK) devolved Manchester city region has provided a platform to see how urban renewal processes in a city can incorporate cooperative and collaborative practices to achieve justice outcomes.
- 4) Shifts in political authority in periods of uncertainty and change. The broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity has highlighted cooperative working as a way of enhancing resilience in communities with a view to it contributing to social justice.

6.2 Using the notion of the ‘co-operative city’ to make sense of the ‘just city’ in the devolved Manchester city-region.

The initial findings and synthesis from the research suggest that both Salford and Manchester each focus heavily upon economically driven development – this is a distinctive commonality between the two. Within this drive there also appears to be differing attitudes between and within the two places in terms of a shared understanding of leadership, cross-sector relationships and co-operative working. These findings have allowed a critical reflection upon the added dynamic of the co-operative city notion by using Fainstein’s criteria to create a visionary accommodation between the just city and the co-operative city. The evidence uncovered about the co-operative city helps make sense of the just city concept and this is the main thread that runs throughout the thesis and is the main contribution to knowledge.

This work has provided this contribution by not just concentrating on predetermined criteria to examine the notion of the just city. It was decided that an altered approach (building upon Fainstein’s ideas) was to be used and the findings were led by the core research questions in this work – what are the process and relationships in urban renewal, who is involved, how relationships managed and what are the resultant outcomes? Fainstein’s criteria were too broad to use as renewal criteria for the just city but were used as a way in to investigating social justice. The core research questions allowed an investigation where interesting and emergent phenomenon had the opportunity to arise. The notion of the just city has therefore been developed in a particular way, via the case studies, and what has emerged in the co-operative city. The cooperative city was this a way of attempting to better understand the processes that can deliver social justice. The core research questions in this work did not set out to specifically examine co-operation but this is what has emerged due to the altered investigative framework. For this research, Fainstein’s criteria were deemed as too broad and measuring these criteria too difficult to narrow down when looking at a large geographical city region.

Making sense of the just city, achieving social justice and influencing change is a key challenge facing decision makers in urban renewal as there are differing viewpoints about how and what needs to be prioritised in the city. This research has been interested to see whether Manchester has the potential to be a just city and this research suggests that priority needs to be given to co-operative working practices to ensure the just city is not lost in discursive rhetoric. It is asserted here that the Manchester city region has the potential to be just.

This suggested priority is because Salford and Manchester demonstrate the potential to be co-operative and this unique form of working contributes to the just city.

With nine out of the ten councils in the Greater Manchester Combined Authority being held by Labour control it could be wrongly assumed that Labour ideologies would be emergent in the city-region in terms of fairer and just places for people to live. What has been discussed so far however points to a city run on neo-liberal agendas and the research provides indication of contradictions within political agendas. Looking at the just city through a co-operative city lens is a way of thinking about how principles of fairness, equity, diversity and democracy can be incorporated into different layers of the city that are dominated by capitalist tendencies. There is evidence to suggest that Salford is currently co-operative and Manchester shows certain characteristics that provides the potential to be co-operative. Co-operative working is a way of interjecting these principles into the capitalist way in which cities currently operate. The tables in the synthesis chapter demonstrate the just and co-operative city concepts and map one out against the other to provide a visionary match. This match ascertains that the just city can accommodate the co-operative city way of working to achieve justice.

There is much evidence on the ground to suggest that both Salford and Manchester have pockets of strong co-operative working and that there are some strong relationships within and between sectors. There are also some sector relationships that could be developed. In the case of Manchester however, it is hard to see some sector relations strengthening to help achieve justice through this unique form of working together. This is particularly the case when some of the key decision makers do not recognise the community and voluntary sector even as a sector. There is however much cultural will on the ground to work co-operatively and this is evident particularly in the public and voluntary sectors. This is despite some sector relationships being quite weak and fragile. The levels of social investment by the private, public and community and voluntary sectors is not forthcoming and more co-operation and investment is needed between sectors.

This lack of financial investment is why co-operative working has emerged as a successful and organic way of working together to affect change – there has been a ‘need’ to work in this way. Questions have been raised by some stakeholders as to whether this much needed investment and co-ordination is the role of the private sector, public sector or community and voluntary sector. This research suggests that we all have a responsibility and role to play in providing a level playing field for all our citizens, but the key is finding the platform or medium to do this.

Participation and engagement could be enhanced through the continuing process of devolution in the city-region but who and how this will evolve is yet to be seen. These debates however, have been exacerbated by the continue effects of austerity measures that hinder real progress for social and economic change. What could be the catalyst or medium for policy changes, that would include co-operative working, could be full and true devolution whereby citizens have greater levels of effective participation in decision making – not just the partial devolution agreed between Westminster and the GMCA.

Collaborative and cooperative working is key here in looking at the just city as it shares a common thread with the emergent ideas in this thesis - Manchester and Salford being co-operative. This is evidenced in Salford as a working cooperative city in the city-region. Relationships and processes in urban renewal are complex and there is evidence of different approaches to management within and between the different sectors in the two localities. Manchester could be viewed as having the potential to be a cooperative city as it displays traits of this way of working but is not recognised in this sense either through local government working practice or policy. The synthesis chapter provided a table on the visionary match between the co-operative and just city to the evidence found in Salford and Cheetham. The commonality in infrastructures that make just and co-operative places, aligned themselves quite closely and for this reason the co-operative city is a tangible way of viewing if a city can be just. With the evidence provided it can be claimed that the Manchester city-region has the potential to be a just city.

Within some of the working practices demonstrated in this thesis, suggestion is that cross-sector relationships are fragile with no one person or organisation best placed to pull it together despite the sectors having their own strong leaders. Within the process of devolution there is confusion in terms of coordination and who takes a lead role. The other aspect to this is to question is whether the voluntary sector is able to step in as a process of deinstitutionalisation takes place, and as the state slowly retreats in some communities. This makes co-operative working between the public and voluntary sectors more challenging – a relationship that is already strained in Manchester. Co-operation should be encouraged, be organic, not forced out of necessity and be built on strong (or to strengthen) working relationships. In managing these relationships in urban renewal, the city leaders are at the same time compromised but content to be focused on economic growth in the mistaken belief that they are becoming masters of their own destiny, but that this is at the expense of social needs. It is difficult, and perhaps unfair, to levy any real historic criticism towards the leaders of Manchester City Council in

terms of economic regeneration, although there are gaps in attempts to enhance the social fabric on more local scales. The context of this is about economic growth as opposed to the ideologies of social justice or a fairer society. Devolution is the latest attempt to make cities responsible for their own growth but with less, and the LEP's and the city growth agenda are part of this. Perhaps this will be the role of the soon to be elected Mayor of Manchester ² to coordinate all of this

This research is speculating upon the changes in political authority and service delivery within the devolution agreement. In terms of city region governance who will feel the benefit of the city region with more cuts anticipated? Public sector (councils) were not set up to be accountable to profit but now councils now asked to be efficient. This work concludes that less people will feel the benefit of the city region with more cuts anticipated. There is evidence of paternalistic leadership in Manchester and there are apparent differences in political leadership between Manchester and Salford despite both focusing on economic driven development. This is representative of the level of strength of the relationships between the sectors in both localities researched.

If the Coalition initially, and Osborne now, are serious about devolution and building these relationships then they would likely pay more attention to those such as (Sir Howard) Bernstein and (Sir Richard) Leese who appear to be able to understand local need. They seem better equipped to make decisions on the deployment of resources to the benefit of the people in the Greater Manchester city-region as they have been working co-operatively for several years. This however, illustrates the weakness of the devolution agenda currently led by Osborne.

² Since appointed in June 2017, the new Mayor of Manchester, Andy Burnham, has sought to positively engage in the new role and address some core issues relating to communities in Greater Manchester e.g. pledging ten percent of his wage to the Manchester homeless fund in an attempt to address aspects of poverty in the city-region. Whilst this mayoral role is important in terms of thinking about who may be well placed to join up decision making and facilitate cross sector working in the city region, this research was conducted before his election. Whilst it would be interesting to explore what is going on now with recent developments, such as the mayoral position, a decision was made to bookend the research at 2015 and not include commentary and critical discussion on this new appointment. This does not mean to say that the role is not an important consideration in the discussion on social justice, urban renewal and the city-region of Manchester. What has been considered however is the way in which this idea of looking back to look forward in the context of the Mayoral position will form the basis for future research to build upon the ideas explored in this thesis as this was not the intention of this particular study and subsequent thesis.

On the one hand, he seems to lean on the leadership of the city-region to legitimise his agenda, but on the other refuses to commit to a more expansive devolution that would truly empower the politicians and officers across the Greater Manchester combined authority. The fact that eight of the ten borough councils have (for the most part) been Labour-controlled since 1986, has however helped maintain an informal co-operation between the districts at a city-region level for many years. There seems to be an effective working balance between the administrative leadership of Bernstein and the political leadership of a city region through Leese and with their counterparts in Westminster. However, this stands in contrast to nearby Liverpool city-region indicating that the relationship between local and national state is not uniform. The focus on Manchester could be said to have been embedded in earlier years of Manchester's recent development (post-Arndale IRA bombing) where the local governance proved to be capable enough to attract to new public and private investment (Ward, 2003). This work argues that for reasons such as these, devolution could better be delivered on a regional scale in order to be more inclusive and representative of all people regardless of whether they live in the administrative boundary of a city-region.

Manchester, whether we like it or not, is big brother to Salford and will often lead the way in deciding the priorities and how to manage them in the Manchester city-region. Some of the respondents had no problem with Salford being attached to Manchester on an international or national level but when it comes to the North-West level 'Salford is Salford', 'Manchester is Manchester', and they are completely different. They operate differently, certainly the councils operate completely differently with a view about their people and how they function. They do have a commonality on a local level though co-operative working relationships that are part of the growth mechanism in both cities. With a city-wide focus on place making, co-operation between and within the different sectors can enhance this approach. It is for these reasons of difference between 'places' that Fainstein's criteria could not be taken as the sole theoretical areas for exploration in the Manchester city-region as opposed to those global cities her evidence is based upon.

Political stances and neo-liberal agendas are important here also. Susan Fainstein's and Greater Manchester Combined Authority's neo liberal agendas are considered here along with a critical evaluation of whether social justice is achievable under these political conditions. The Coalition has contained within it certain contradictions with one-part Big Society, one-part localism, one part centralised control of public sector austerity. Even in the pursuit of city-led

growth the Coalition never truly managed to articulate a position that overcame the previous contradictions between Liberal and Conservative, as their different views on what to do with the Regional Development Agency's demonstrated.

Despite devolution being in the pipeline it is serving a particular agenda. This agenda is neoliberal in essence, focused on creating the conditions for growth, rather than being concerned with social justice. On this point regarding responses and solutions to the problems of social and economic inequality, Levitas (2012:320-342) contends that these ideas are by no means able to respond to the failures of the market and cannot make up for the dismantling of the welfare support. In the call for greater localism the state has to be the final arbiter of equality in terms of social and economic justice. It is contended here that Manchester can be seen as a key city-region to do this as the 'Northern Powerhouse', leading a growth corridor, but it experiences severe pressure based on inequality in basic markets, such as housing and health. There have been 30 years of shifting administrative boundaries, but the issues contained within the just city remain despite these shifts. These issues need to be addressed for the Manchester city-region to be considered as a just city and not just a city with potential to be just.

Policy arrangements are key in terms of influencing the future of communities. The policies considered here are that of Big Society and localism and neither of them have been reflective of the just city. As part of the devolution, or localism, deal there is a phased new model of governance for the city region and there are many implications for the statutory and non-statutory sectors. Devolution is the latest attempt to make cities responsible for their own growth but with less, this where the Big Society agenda fits in. The LEPs and the city growth agenda are part of this. With an increase in conflicting pressures of city growth and local communities, particularly in times of current and further cuts, austerity urbanism (Peck 2012) would seem to be a preventative barrier to achieving true social justice. Whilst in many cases it has been a preventative barrier, it has also allowed organic growth of co-operative working practices within and between resilient groups that are dealing on a local level with poverty issues. These are working relationships and practices that may not have ordinarily flourished under more stable conditions.

Hurd (2013) states that "We have a long tradition of voluntary activity whose social and economic value is immense, however, we rely on a heroic civic core with a third of the population doing more than three quarters of the giving." It is these relationships between sectors that have been important to this work in the context of recession and austerity and a

new form of governance in the Conservative-led Coalition party. Whilst this centralised agenda of austerity measures have affected all the UK this study has also focused on the changing dynamic of changes in local governance and shifts in political authority during this study.

Co-operative working is slowly on the increase in cities. Murray (2012) states that “The Co-operative Councils Network now has twenty-one members, including Newcastle, Liverpool and Rochdale. Councils are taking a variety of approaches.” Murray states further that “in Oldham for example six district partnerships are being created where the local authority will work with the police and NHS to make decisions on local services and budgets”. There are, and will continue to be, major concerns with the Big Society agenda but according to the think tank organisation ‘New Local Government’ a co-operative council model could yield positive results. This is because there is a distinct difference between the commissioning approaches they would use as opposed to outsourcing to external agencies that is a model that councils have commonly used. Salford Council brands the city as co-operative and is influencing those responsible for its economic and social infrastructure to incorporate this way of working, which in some instances is reflected in policy. Manchester displays some of these characteristics, but the co-operative city is not reflected in policy.

It has been debated by Reed (2012) whether co-operative commissioning is merely a way of moving the responsibility of austerity cuts in the current economic conditions currently being experienced. “In doing more of what people want and less of what people don’t want we are effectively driving value for money and we can deliver better public services by empowering citizens whether we have twice the amount of money we do or half the amount. This is not a cuts led agenda but one we are implementing at a time of cuts”. Ed Mayo (2012:35), the secretary of Co-operatives UK, argues that “wider moves to brand all public services as co-operative must be backed by real changes in practice”. He also says, “It is a metaphor, but what we hope is that it leads to action so for example the people who are going to commission need to understand what co-operation is, to build elements of co-operative practice into the commissioning process”. Mayo wants to encourage a co-operative ethos across sectors and states, “There is a paradox. There has never been a time of greater cuts in public services but there has never been more creativity. It’s not straightforward, at a time of insecurity, to change some organizations form and the delivery of services, but at the same time there could be so much on offer it that is the route people choose to go”. This work hopes to add to the growing dialogue around justice to add to an increasing call for change.

The City of Salford and the ward of Broughton display evidence and recognise themselves as a co-operative city but Cheetham and Manchester only show evidence of a pre-co-operative city. If Salford is unique to this why has it not been shared with the nine other local authorities? The architectural infrastructure that makes the just city work has been looked at in terms think about what would be the architectural infrastructure that makes the co-operative city work. This would include democratic leadership, co-operative working practices, creative/skilled managers, a clear identity and effective administrative structures. A reflection of this working practice needs to be reflected in policy though. The detail of some of these criteria are presented below and discussion evolves around the weighting of these criteria.

6.3 What this researcher's criteria for a 'just city' looks like

With much academic debate surrounding the idea of the just city it is fair to say that this is a notion that has been contested for some time. Whilst some academics such as David Harvey opt for a more utopian and radical transformation to achieve the ideal of the just city, this work argues that because of the lack of effective change as a result of the debates, that the just city to some extent is just rhetoric. The participants in this research generally view the just city as a place which is fair and where people can access goods and services equitably. Dependent on the sector that they come from this view changes, particularly when talking to people from different parts of the city. To some there are more traceable elements and criteria of the just city than others. Some from the private sector would say that there is too much concentration on the social whilst some people from the community and voluntary sector for example, this researcher included, would say there is too much focus on the economic. Views of the just city are influenced by lived experiences and are dependent on geographical or thematic need. All places are different therefore the application and view of the just city will vary from place to place. This is what this makes part of the contribution to knowledge as the devolved Manchester city-region provides a unique place in which to think about social justice and urban renewal.

As previously explained, Fainstein's criteria were too broad and open to too much interpretation. The formulated criteria below add to, and include, those of Fainsteins but have a more narrowed focus. The points below provide discussion and focus on some of the key

notions on how the just city looks to this researcher. These criteria for a more just city add to the claims that cooperative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the just city might be brought about.

Economic and Social Diversity

Recession and austerity have impacted massively upon communities and there is still a concentration upon economic-driven development in urban environments in the Manchester city-region. Social diversity in Cheetham is particularly evident, and as a result has strong organic social capital that works co-operatively together. This criterion of diversity aligns itself with Fainstein's conceptual model here, but this narrowed focus highlights a need for ensuring a mix of economic and social diversity in urban renewal processes. Economic and social diversity has added to the resilience and innovation in communities to find new ways of working together in the face of austerity and recession.

Policy to drive social and economic diversity in Salford and Manchester has been through housing led programmes of renewal. The new housing development in Broughton, for example, advertises 'affordable' homes just '1 mile from the city centre'. With some displacement having taken place and economically active people encouraged to take up residence, there is still a lack of economic diversity in both areas – there are either economically stable pockets in the two localities or economically underdeveloped areas. Attempting to get people from a well-off household to live next door to a poor household is a challenge though. This is a challenge facing planners and developers who are being asked to consider the needs of those less well off in society. The lack of affordable housing in the Manchester city-region is testimony to the focus on profit driven strategies with private sector partners. What has been evident though is the massive social diversity in Cheetham and the growing social diversity in Broughton. Perhaps the decision makes in the city would be advised to build upon and drive the social diversity that multiculturalism brings and in turn readdress the economic diversity problem in its wake.

Participation and engagement – pluralist approaches

These criterion of participation and engagement reflects upon Peter Townsend's (1965) work that argues poverty prevents people from being full members of society. Considering social and economic relationships and the urban question, urban renewal and social justice should be about addressing poverty through social justice. Levels of community participation in

Cheetham, in part due to its diversity, are very high with collaboration and co-operation between groups evident. Potential for increased participation in decision making is hindered however due to lack of turnout for consultations or engagement with wider movements and activity that could influence change. Participation in the city-region is hindered by poor connectivity (transport) and equal access to opportunity. The concept of equity is important, but this criterion set out by Fainstein has required adapting to think about equity in terms of access and opportunity. This problem of connectivity and access however is addressed locally through the development of community groups, that are engaging with each other in a co-operative manner, that ordinarily would not have come together in more prosperous times. It is the belief of this researcher that the Manchester city-region is addressing this issue to provide opportunities to its residents. This could be enhanced by fuller devolution whereby citizens in the city-region could have greater say in their future.

Democratic processes (participatory & deliberative) and strong leadership/ management

This is linked quite closely to the notion of participation above. Whilst participatory democracy processes, which incorporate deliberative democracy, seem an effective way of thinking about decision making, the earlier thoughts in chapter two of Purcell (2007) need to be considered here. Purcell argues that some will focus on process rather than outcomes and vice versa. In terms of power, politics, leadership and management in the city-region to affect such processes and these different focuses, questions do remain about levels of participation in processes in the devolution agenda. If devolution in its true sense is to be delivered, of which the Manchester city-region is currently getting partial devolution, then greater democratic participation by its residents is needed to re-address imbalances between social fairness and economic growth.

Developing a just city considering democracy as a key component, requires networks and relationships to be built from a bottom-up approach thus allowing democratic spaces to influence change. It is argued here that these should be cooperative relationships. As there are differences and attitudes to leadership and management of the city this may be particularly challenging given the paternalistic nature of some of the key decision makers. The CVS could perhaps be key here as they could represent the interest of the people thus making devolution organic. If Jurgen Habermas' ideas earlier in the thesis are drawn upon here, then there should be some element of rationality and conversation in this democratic process of devolution. In 1971 John Rawls asserted that free individuals behaving in a rational manner will themselves opt for an approximate equal distribution of goods to ensure they do not end up in a worse

position. This was in 1971 but today globalisation and capitalism has prevented individuals from participating in being able to make such decisions – the ideologies and values within a co-operative approach would help to re-address this. These values could help even further if there was a more democratic approach to rolling out the Devo-Manc agenda.

Resilience – ability to adapt to sudden change

This work has been set in the context of recession and austerity and has considered this when making sense of the just city through the co-operative city. The example provided in the findings, whereby the Ukrainian Center, which is home to the Wai Yin Chinese Women's Group who actually work with Somalian refugees, is an example of a co-operative approach adopted by these actors to address the need at a particular time. This is just one example of a co-operative working approach in a city that has a rich diversity to strengthen communities. It is some of these cooperative relationships that have emerged that are very interesting as they would possibly not have emerged in more stable economic conditions.

Decision makers would do well to consider that diversity adds to resilience in communities and when combined with co-operative working practices these diverse groups are able to adapt to sudden change. This work contends that co-operation would contribute to the resilience of communities and would contribute to both the just and co-operative city.

Co-operative working

Co-operative working is the main theme that has emerged from the work and has been used as a way in which to make sense of the just city. Co-operation, as a unique form of working together, has emerged particularly in Cheetham and is therefore put forward as an essential criterion for urban renewal processes to help address social justice questions in the city. This notion of co-operation emerged despite the pressures of recession and austerity urbanism upon all three sectors and the communities they serve. There is convincing evidence that co-operative working in the cities of Manchester and Salford despite some sector relationships being quite weak, provides opportunity to re-address the imbalances between social and economic concentrations highlighted in this work.

The organic growth of co-operative working activity is commendable, particularly in the case of Manchester, when there are low levels of recognition and financial support from local

government. Salford's 'Social Charter' is a visible indicator that a co-operative model is being worked in the city. Equitable economic and social considerations are made in the co-operative city and this provides a balance in the just city debate. The ideologies and characteristics of the just city align themselves with the co-operative city concept. Therefore, this work concludes that whilst set within a broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity the claim to originality in this work is done through interrogating and adapting Fainstein's notion of the 'just city', to position co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester City Region.

More specifically this work claims that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the 'just city' might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

6.4 Applying 'justice' criteria for global cities to a city with differing scales and structures

This contribution has looked at the difficulties and challenges encountered in attempting to apply justice criteria for urban renewal in a different type of city. The fact of the matter is that all cities are different and approaches to policy, relationships and outcomes will differ dependent on individual need of that urban environment. Part of the problem is trying to keep pace of ever-changing environments through policy. Discussion so far has looked at whether Fainstein's criteria of diversity, democracy and equity would be better used in more stable economic conditions or whether current economic instability has highlighted some interesting points (or criteria) that ordinarily would not have happened or emerged. In this instance the emergence of the co-operative city. The conclusion here is that the just city concept is better pursued in a city region but by concentrating upon notions of cooperative working justice could be pursued in other cities with different scales and structures.

Place making has been a key theme throughout the research particularly relevant to the process and relationships element of the research questions. Ideas of regional bodies as opposed to specific city regions are a better way to best manage priorities. This researcher has focused attention in this thesis to those living within the administrative boundaries of the city-region but whilst interviewing participants from regional organisations some people are concerned with the impacts of this transfer of power to a city if you do not live inside that city. What

happens to these areas is something that this researcher will be endeavoring to explore in further research upon completion of this PhD.

6.5 Social Justice, urban renewal, cooperative working and shifts in political authority in periods of uncertainty and change.

On 3rd November 2014 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, made the first of three significant announcements on changes to the way services are to be run across Greater Manchester. The devolution package that was on offer, and subsequently agreed, represents an important shift in the political authority of the city-region to exercise greater control over its services. The Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) and its ten members have sought to engage with the devolution package in its various stages even accepting the condition of a transitional/temporary mayor (June 2015) leading to a directly-elected mayor in May 2017. It represents an important experiment outside of London, in city governance in the UK and will test democratic processes in the region.

The vulnerability and resilience in communities has been stretched since the global financial crisis of 2008. The two communities of Cheetham and Broughton have shared some common challenges and successes displayed in the face of recession and austerity and some relationships have flourished with having to face adversity together – these are the co-operative relationships evidenced in this thesis. The vulnerability and resilience of communities during recession and austerity has been examined through different individuals and groups in different layers of the city-region during such times. Recession and austerity have been a context setting negative throughout the research as expenditure cuts to public services coupled with a neo liberal Big Society agenda have hit those communities that are in need very hard. The complexities of managing urban renewal in the context of recession and the move to devolution make this a difficult task at a local level.

The Coalition government led by David Cameron came to power in 2010 with a decentralised, localised policy agenda in planning. Lowndes and Pratchett (2011) discussed this earlier as the Coalition's reforms do show traces of an ideological commitment to localism and a new understanding of local self-government and that there is an ideological agenda which has the potential to deliver a radically different form of local governance. The Coalition government has provided this localised agenda that has been implemented, in part, through the

establishment of procedures for neighbourhood planning. However, along with these procedures have come hand in hand cuts to public sector spending that has had massive impacts upon various layers of the city-region.

Whilst the Localism Act (2011) was introduced as a way of devolving local powers, and the Coalition thought that perhaps the more power they can decentralise the better, but at the same time they centralised schools and health for example. The Coalition has contained within it certain contradictions with one-part Big Society, one-part localism, one-part centralised control of public sector austerity. Even in the pursuit of city-led growth the Coalition never truly managed to articulate a position that overcame the previous contradictions between Liberal and Conservative, as their different views on what to do with the Regional Development Agency's demonstrated (see for example Larkin, 2009). Despite devolution being in the pipeline it is serving a particular agenda. This agenda is neoliberal, focused on creating the conditions for growth, rather than being concerned with social justice. On this point regarding responses and solutions to the problems of social and economic inequality this research agrees with Levitas (2012:320-342) contending that these ideas are by no means able to respond to the failures of the market and cannot make up for the dismantling of the welfare support. In the call for greater localism the state must be the final arbiter of equality in terms of social and economic justice. It is contended here that Manchester can be seen as a key city-region in the Northern Powerhouse, leading a growth corridor, but it experiences severe pressure based on inequality in basic markets, such as housing.

Austerity cuts have had a massive impact upon communities in some of these basic markets. Researching eighteen locations in the UK on behalf of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, O'Hara (2013:32) found that "During this project, people from all over the UK spoke of the toll the cuts were taking. They told of struggling to feed their children, of how they were reeling from job loss or were anxiety ridden by fitness-for-work assessments and benefits sanctions, of how the prospect of the bedroom tax or fear of homelessness was driving them to despair". Echoing these thoughts in terms of how local government cuts have affected vital services in Greater Manchester this research would also suggest that there is unmistakable evidence that there is a great extent to which many residents in various communities heavily rely upon small support organisations. These organisations in their neighbourhood that are struggling to survive as grants and funding disappears and contracts on local scales seem to be given to larger firms from the private sector. The cooperative way in which the surviving organisations work is

testament to the claims in this work that despite the backdrop of recession and austerity measures, cooperative working can be considered as a way of understanding how the just city may be brought about and realised.

The economic perceptions obtained throughout this work are highlighted by the 'Counting the Cuts Report' (2013). This publication indicated that the economic situation in the UK is demonstrating few signs of recovery and that small, local voluntary and community organisations are being, and will further be, disproportionately affected by future cuts and austerity measure. This work suggests that as funding continues to reduce, many small organisations will become defunct unless they find a way to work cooperatively with partners from other sectors. Out of this however has come a resilient attitude from some organisations in keeping afloat and providing a capacity to be innovative, make the most of what they have and focus this in terms of still being able to address community needs. The question as to how long this particular sector, that does not have the financial clout of the other two sectors, will be able to keep this up is questionable. Answers to this question could lie in the adoption of more co-operative working process that is reflected in policy or indeed through informal 'good will' arrangements.

What is quite evident is that the marginalised and vulnerable members of our society would be in a much worse position if these voluntary and community organisations were no longer there to help. There does not appear to be a negative shift in the level of participation in societal life but Clark (2012:35) says that "the tendency to withdraw from social clubs and community groups is one more blight on life that appears to be much more common among Britain's who have been battered by the slump" adding that "the proportion of the recession hit who report a reduction in taking part in these forms of community involvement is 33%." This proportion of society are unable to take part in cultural activity are prevented from doing so by societal expectation to spend money and in many instances with low income households, a choice between increased participation in society or basic necessities and commodities to live. This work argues that pluralist approaches to participation and engagement would help with this.

Thinking about how the city-region may assist in participation and engagement, Scott (1996) and Storper (1997), and their contributions in chapter two, highlight that city-regions stand out as a point of interest because they seem to be emerging as a key spatial unit in the ongoing restructuring of the global political economy. As political communities and as democratic publics, city-regions are both made up of smaller-scale communities situated in larger-scale

communities. The various scales of political, social and economic community should be democratically related in attempting to achieve social and how the devolution agreement will incorporate this is yet to be seen. Putting this into context, the ten authorities have worked on a collaborative city-region basis in the period preceding the devolution decision so perhaps the co-operative way in which the boroughs have operated will be enhanced through the Manchester city-region. The concern is the continual focus upon economic driven development, even in this change of political structures, to affect real change.

“The city-region has increasingly been defined as the focus of economic development policies linked with urban competitiveness”. (Atkinson, 2007:65)

2.7 million live in Greater Manchester providing 1.2 million jobs and can therefore be viewed as potentially the most prominent economic centre not just in the North West but throughout northern England. Greater Manchester, the city center and surrounding wards is the main place for economic related activity in this region (city-region) and certain successes predominately economically, but also socially, can be found. Despite these successes, the level of poverty and those disadvantaged in society are still a challenge as economic prosperity does not seem to have trickled down to those most in need. The Greater Manchester Fairness Commission (2015:5) reports that “Three of the ten local authority districts in Greater Manchester (Manchester, Salford and Rochdale) are ranked within the top 10% most deprived nationally, meaning 23% of the sub-regional population live in the 10% most deprived areas. Levels of unemployment and economic inactivity are amongst the highest nationally, with over 15% of working age residents claiming an out of work benefit.” Taking these figures into account it would be perhaps safe to assume the levels of deprivation being experienced could lead to continued problems and sustain a cycle of deprivation that becomes harder and harder to get out of. Essential to this work has been the examination of the growing disconnect between addressing social issues and the need for economic-driven development. Recession and increasing austerity measures and expenditure cuts added to this challenge and will mean trying to find improved ideas and solutions to improve social justice whilst, as evidenced in this work, with less public resources.

The current government believes that by readdressing and trying to rebalance social responsibility and power that they have found a solution. The views of some of the contributors disagree with this. Perhaps recognising some of the failings of centrally-run government policy, the government sees that future solutions are embedded by co-operating effectively between a

strong civil society, an accessible open form of governance and public services and a strong and socially responsible private sector. In hindsight, whilst this was a regional / city level study, it would have perhaps been useful to attempt contact with people involved at a national policy level to obtain thoughts and perceptions on this.

The Coalition, especially the Conservative element, champions charities that are smaller and perhaps more critical of others. Randeep (2013:33) states that “The third sector, they reason, should deliver services that produce results and affect change in people’s behaviours. This is a return to the past. Looking back to Beveridge, it was his work that proved that a monolithic state-run system offered simplification, social justice and substantial savings in administrative costs from the proliferation of friendly societies and their idiosyncratic procedures.” William Beveridge, as part of the Welfare State, wanted voluntary participant organisations to carry forward and carry out his proposals. It could be viewed that is what New Labour were trying to do between 1997 and 2010 and what the Coalition are trying to do now albeit hiding behind a neo-liberal agenda.

The thesis has looked at the dynamics currently in play in the devolution agenda in Manchester. There is a phased introduction of new models of governance for the city region and it has been possible to speculate on the implications of these changes for local leaders across the public and non-statutory sectors. The devolution agenda is neo-liberal in essence, focussed on creating conditions for growth rather than being concerned with social justice. Manchester, in the context of this suffers from severe pressure on inequality in basic markets such as housing and health that make the process of devolution more difficult. It is also however, early days to ascertain whether there will still be co-operation between the ten local authorities. This work argues that a new way of working together is needed. A new way that does not just focus and concentration upon economic led strategies. Co-operative working contributes to the just city and should be adopted in urban renewal practices and policy to enhance justice. The city-region and its co-operative and potentially co-operative cities of Salford and Manchester are ideally placed to embrace this unique form of working together.

Recession and austerity have remained a context-setting negative during this research and has been constantly evident across the different scales of structures and governance that have been studied in all three sectors. The term ‘austerity urbanism’ is a means of summarising and understanding urban policy in a context of extreme public expenditure cuts and Peck’s analysis rings true for what we are seeing in Greater Manchester, simultaneously to decisions on

devolution taking place. As Fainstein suggests “there is nothing about regional bodies that automatically makes them vehicles for greater equity than that possible in the individual cities that might make up a fragmented region... [adding that] metropolitan governing institutions potentially can redistribute income, disperse affordable housing, encompass a diverse public, and offer the possibility of popular control of a level of government with greater capacity than small municipalities, but the likelihood that they will produce these results is slim” (Fainstein 2010:85). It could also be argued that the concepts of the cooperative city may also face stiff challenges in embedding itself in democracy and accountability. A more orthodox Marxist analysis may see this contribution in this work as a softer version of the way cities are developed and regenerated.

Despite these geographies of difference, application of the just city concept is appropriate to the Manchester city-region although many such challenges remain. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, the fact that 15,000 new residential units in Manchester provided no social housing provision last year is testimony to the challenges faced in readdressing social justice in economic driven development agendas. This is indicative of what is happening in the Manchester city-region at the moment. In the context of devolution and the Manchester city-region there remain questions about social justice such that have been marginalised and for this reason Manchester has yet to fulfil the ideal of being a just city – even in a conceptual sense - and as a new site of innovation, fairness and justice. There is however enough evidence to suggest that it does have the potential to be a co-operative city region that reflects some of the characteristics of the just city. The work concludes that the co-operative city can contribute to the just city.

Set within a broader politico-economic context of the move to devolution and the backdrop of austerity the claim to originality in this work has been done through interrogating and adapting Fainsteins notion of the ‘just city’, to position co-operative working as central to an understanding of how social justice might be better promoted and realised in the Manchester City Region. It is a way of seeing what the just city might look like as Fainstein’s language does not go deep enough. More specifically this work claims that co-operative working is central to an understanding of the mechanisms and processes of how the ‘just city’ might be brought about and is considered as a fourth criteria to those identified by Fainstein.

There may not be enough evidence and dialogue in urban renewal to have an idea as to what would be the most beneficial alternative source of change but by continuing to converse about

justice, it could be made central to planning and development in cities. By continuing debate and adding to dialogue about social justice it is viewed by this researcher the process of naming (social justice) has power because if society continually calls for a just city it may be possible to change the priorities in urban renewal practice and develop the discourse to accommodate real change. By discussing the potential for a just city model in the Manchester city-region, enacted by co-operative working, this concept may no longer be on the periphery. It would constitute a positive step in altering the current tendencies and direction of urban renewal processes that currently exclude social justice from what should be the real aims of urban policy.

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Appendix 1 – Project Information Sheet

TITLE: Urban renewal and the ‘Just city’: Examining the potentiality of a co-operative Manchester city-region.

Project Information Sheet

Invitation Paragraph

I would like you to take a few minutes to read this information sheet before making up your mind about whether or not you would like to help me with this research. This research incorporates an examination of socio-economic regeneration programmes and initiatives within the local community. Explicitly this research aims to evaluate community assets, represented by public, private and third sector organisations, and the levels of resident participation in local regeneration initiatives. The research will involve stakeholders in the Greater Manchester and Salford communities from local to city region levels.

What is the purpose of the study?

The research hopes to add to a growing demand for people, and the places they live, to have greater attention and priority paid to them in regeneration practices. The purpose is to evaluate the role and contributions of stakeholders in regeneration initiatives and to examine how best to utilise local community assets in attaining a fairer society.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is voluntary. I would like you to consent to participate in this study as I believe that you can make an important contribution to the research. If you do not wish to participate you do not have to do anything in response to this request. I am asking you to take part in the research because you are a stakeholder in your community and I believe you can provide important information to me that may be relevant to the evaluation that I am undertaking.

What will I do if I take part?

If you are happy to participate in the research I will ask you to read this information sheet and sign the consent form

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

Whilst you may be asked to answer questions on professional or practise relating to your role, all information provided by you will be kept confidential at all times. All responses to my questions and information provided by you will be anonymised i.e. no personal details relating to you or where you work will be included in the research. Only I will have access to the information you provide to me and, if necessary, my supervisor.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there may be no personal benefits to your participation in this study, I hope that the information you provide can add to our understanding of the impact of regeneration initiatives in the areas of Manchester and Salford.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All information you provide to me will be kept confidential. All data collection, storage and processing will comply with the principles of the Data Protection Act 1998 and the EU Directive 95/46 on Data Protection. Under no circumstances will identifiable responses be provided to any other third party. Information emanating from the evaluation will only be made public in a completely attributable format or at the aggregate level to ensure that no participant will be identified.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All information provided by you will be stored anonymously on a computer with analysis of the information obtained undertaken by the researcher. The results from this analysis may be available in one or more of the following sources; papers in peer reviewed academic journals; presentations at a regional conference; local seminars and production of a final thesis.

Who is organising the research?

The evaluation is being conducted by Kevin Burke, a PhD Researcher at Edge Hill University, Lancashire, as part of research counting towards production of a final thesis on the subject. Confirmation can be obtained from -

Director of Studies – Professor John Diamond, Business School, Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, Lancashire, email: diamond@edgehill.ac.uk or telephone: [01695 575171](tel:01695575171)

Appendix 2 – Consent Form

Consent Form for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Kevin Burke from Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, Lancashire. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about social and economic regeneration issues in Greater Manchester localities and communities.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study any information gathered about myself will be returned or destroyed if requested.

2. Whilst I understand that I may find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by Kevin Burke. Interviews will aim to collect testimony on the impacts of regeneration initiatives in my area. Interviews will last approximately 30-45 minutes. I will be informed if this time is expected to be longer or shorter and have the option to continue or not. Notes will be written during the interview. If I don't want to be recorded by an audio device I have the right not to be so.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent storage and uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions. Consent forms will be stored separately from data collected

5. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the relevant ethical committees at the University. If I have any questions or concerns about my role and rights as a research participant, or would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, I may contact, anonymously if I wish, Professor John Diamond,

Director of Studies, Edge Hill University Business School, St Helens Road, Ormskirk, Lancashire, L39 4QP, Tel:01695 575171 E Mail: diamondj@edgehill.ac.uk

6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

7. I have been given a copy of this consent form and confirm I am over the age of 18.

Participant Signature Date Participants printed name

Investigators Signature Date Investigators printed name

For further information, please contact: Kevin Burke (Principle Researcher), Edge Hill University, St Helens Road, Ormskirk, Lancashire. Tel: 07889943144 E Mail: kevin.burke@go.edgehill.ac.uk

Appendix 3 – Data Storage Form

Data storage and collection statement

Principle Investigator: Kevin Burke

By signing this statement, I am indicating my understanding of my responsibilities to maintain confidentiality, privacy and data storage and agree to the following as the principle investigator:

1. All digital and electronic data collected in this research will be subject to electronic storage security via encrypted and password protected hard drives stored securely. Physical data such as completed consent forms, transcripts and audio tapes will be filed and securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet and will not be made available in the public domain.
2. All anonymous data is subject to data protection and privacy laws and will only be made available to the researcher and research participant. Other data, non-confidential, may be made available to the supervisory team only where appropriate. All data collection, storage and processing will comply with the principles of the Data Protection Act 1998 and the EU Directive 95/46 on Data Protection. Under no circumstances will identifiable responses be provided to any other third party.
3. Data will be stored for a period of 3 years after completion of the research a thesis submission in order to defend against any potential future complaint or query. Data will be retained until there is no reasonable possibility that the research will be required to defend against an allegation of research misconduct.
4. Electronic data will be erased using commercial software designed to remove all data from devices. When research records are to be destroyed instead of stored securely, it will be necessary to protect the participants' confidentiality throughout the process. Paper records will be shredded and recycled and not disposed of in household or commercial waste.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Printed name

Appendix 4 -Pre-prepared questions used within an interview with a senior Salford Council Official

What do you think are the main community assets in Salford in particularly Broughton?

What are the relationships like between the three sectors in Salford? Is one relationship stronger than another? Is there someone to bring it all together?

How much collaborative working does Salford Council do with Manchester Council?

What influences you in the decisions you have to take as your position as Assistant Mayor of Salford?

Do you feel Manchester as a city-region is good for Salford? Do you feel any impacts will be equitable throughout the region?

What is Salford's growth promoting planning vision for the next 10/15 years?

How has recession and austerity affected the work you do? Do you think there are other factors affect the benefits of urban renewal reaching communities? If so, what are they?

How does Salford Council engage and participate with the residents in urban renewal project areas in Salford? Do you feel that active, diverse neighbourhoods are a key element to successful regeneration and sustainability in such areas?

As a committee member on the Planning and Transport Panel how do you think HS2 will affect Salford and Manchester's transport network? How do you think this economic investment will affect opportunities for local communities?

Appendix 5 – Pre-prepared questions used with a senior representative with a community and voluntary organisation

How well do you think the CVS works with the public and private sectors in Manchester?
What are the relationships like in North Manchester?

As a support organisation how do you see your role on a local, city and regional level? Do you have a relationship with Salford CVS for example?

What work in Manchester has your organisation been involved with in the wards of Cheetham and Broughton and how effective has that been?

What influences you the most regarding the policy decisions that you and the members of the board must take?

Since the organisation was formed how has the organisation developed its relationship with the community and voluntary sector organisations in Manchester, and in your opinion, what have been the influencing factors and successful outcomes?

What do you feel the impacts of recent recession and austerity are upon the CVS sector in Manchester? How do you think communities can be resilient in such times?

Have there been other phenomenon that impact upon the problems facing communities?

In your opinion what more could be done to address some of the problems?

Appendix 6 – Pre-prepared questions used within an interview with a ward official in Cheetham

What do you feel are the main elements and responsibilities in your role as Principle Regeneration Officer for Cheetham?

What influences you, professionally and personally, in the decisions you have to take within the community of Cheetham Hill? How important is effective leadership?

What do you feel Cheetham's community assets are and how are they utilised in regeneration initiatives in the community? Diverse population, democratic processes, equity of its citizens? How has the delivery of improvements to the Cheetham District Centre and completion of Manchester Forts affected Cheetham Hill residents to date?

How do you feel the North Manchester Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) 10/15-year plan is progressing? How effective are the Neighbourhood Regeneration Teams (NRT's) and Neighbourhood Delivery Teams (NDT's) in Cheetham and what are the plans for Cheetham Fringe and the Cheetham Hill Corridor?

How has the period of recession and austerity affected the council's initiatives and partnership working in Manchester and also in the local of Cheetham?

How well do you think the public/private and voluntary sectors work with each other? How important is it that they do collaborate or is one sector more significant than the other?

How significant, if at all, is the change to a city-region to the people of local wards such as Cheetham and Broughton? Do you think it will affect the relationships and co-ordination of processes within the authorities in Greater Manchester?

How do you approach your role in implementing change and how do you communicate this through different sectors and organisations? What are the levels of bureaucracy, if any, to overcome within the different sectors?

Appendix 7 – Pre-prepared questions used within an interview with a senior manager/official at Manchester City Council

Looking back to when you joined the council, what do you think the differences are now, in terms of what influences you, that impact upon the decisions you have to take?

How well do you think the public/private and voluntary sectors work with each other? How important is it that they do collaborate and work together, or is one sector more significant than the other?

How significant, if at all, is the city-region and devolution to the people of Cheetham and Broughton?

What social, economic and political phenomenon affect people in communities and how do these phenomena affect the work you do achieve social justice in the city-region?

Looking back on your period in office, how differently if at all, do you approach your role in implementing change? And, what are your top 5 skills for being an effective leader?

Appendix 8 – Pre-prepared questions used within an interview with a senior manager from a private sector develop organisation in Salford

How does your organisation work with other sectors in the development of communities, particularly in Salford? What are those relationships like?

How important do you feel property led regeneration is in cities like Salford and Manchester?

What do you feel are the key contributions to successful community development and urban renewal projects? What do you feel these successful outcomes should look like?

How could they be best achieved, and who should be involved?

What political, economic and social problems face communities in Salford at the moment?

How has recession and austerity impacted upon present and future projects for your organisation? What levels of uncertainty are there?

How important do you see housing development as part of a strategy for achieving social justice?